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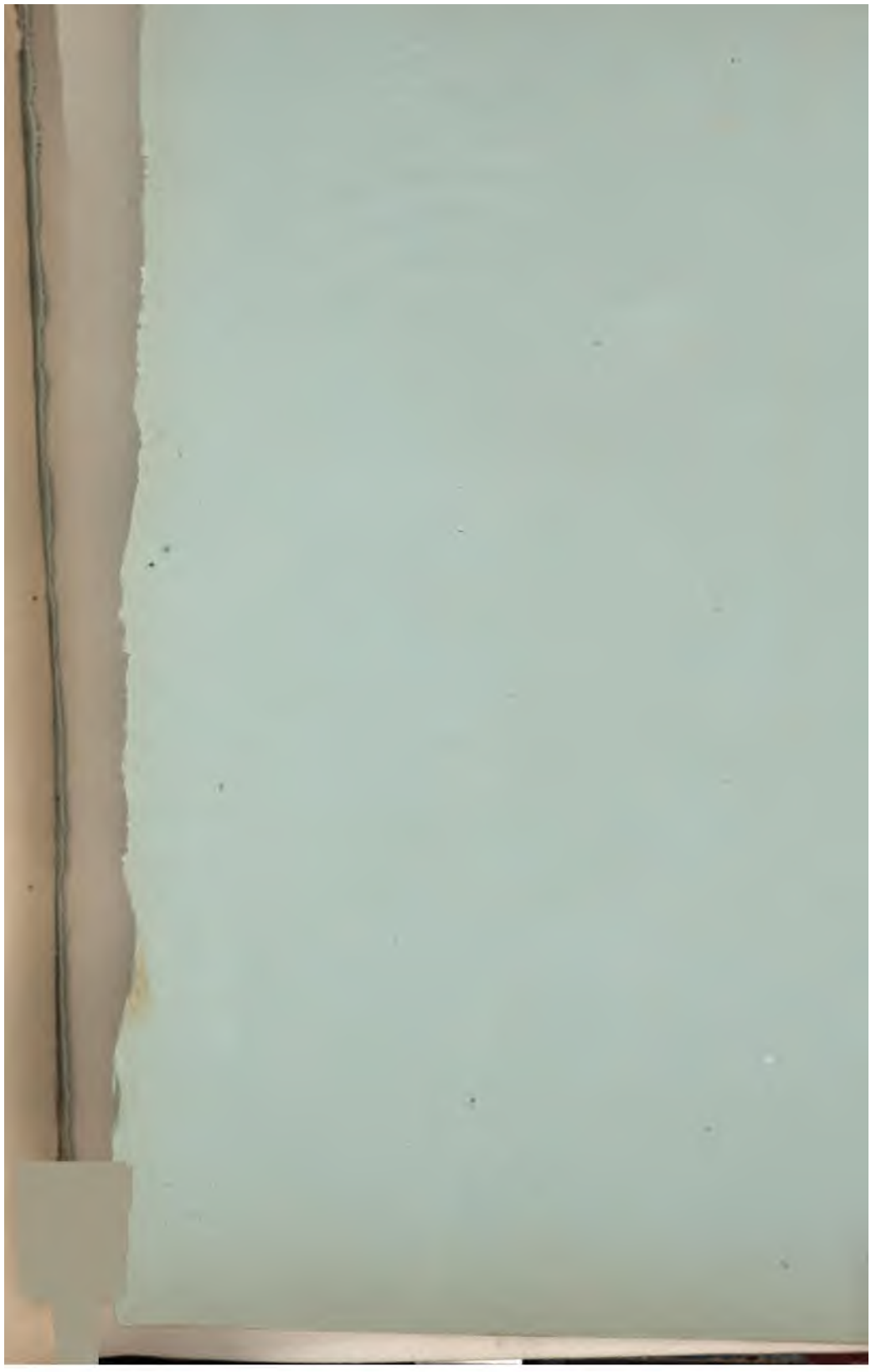
THE CENSORSHIP OF HEBREW BOOKS

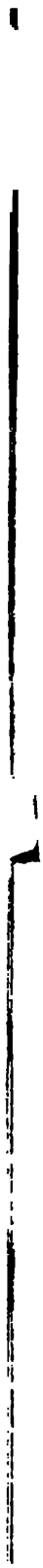
BY

WILLIAM POPPER, A.M.

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THE
FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

NEW YORK
The Knickerbocker Press
MAY, 1899





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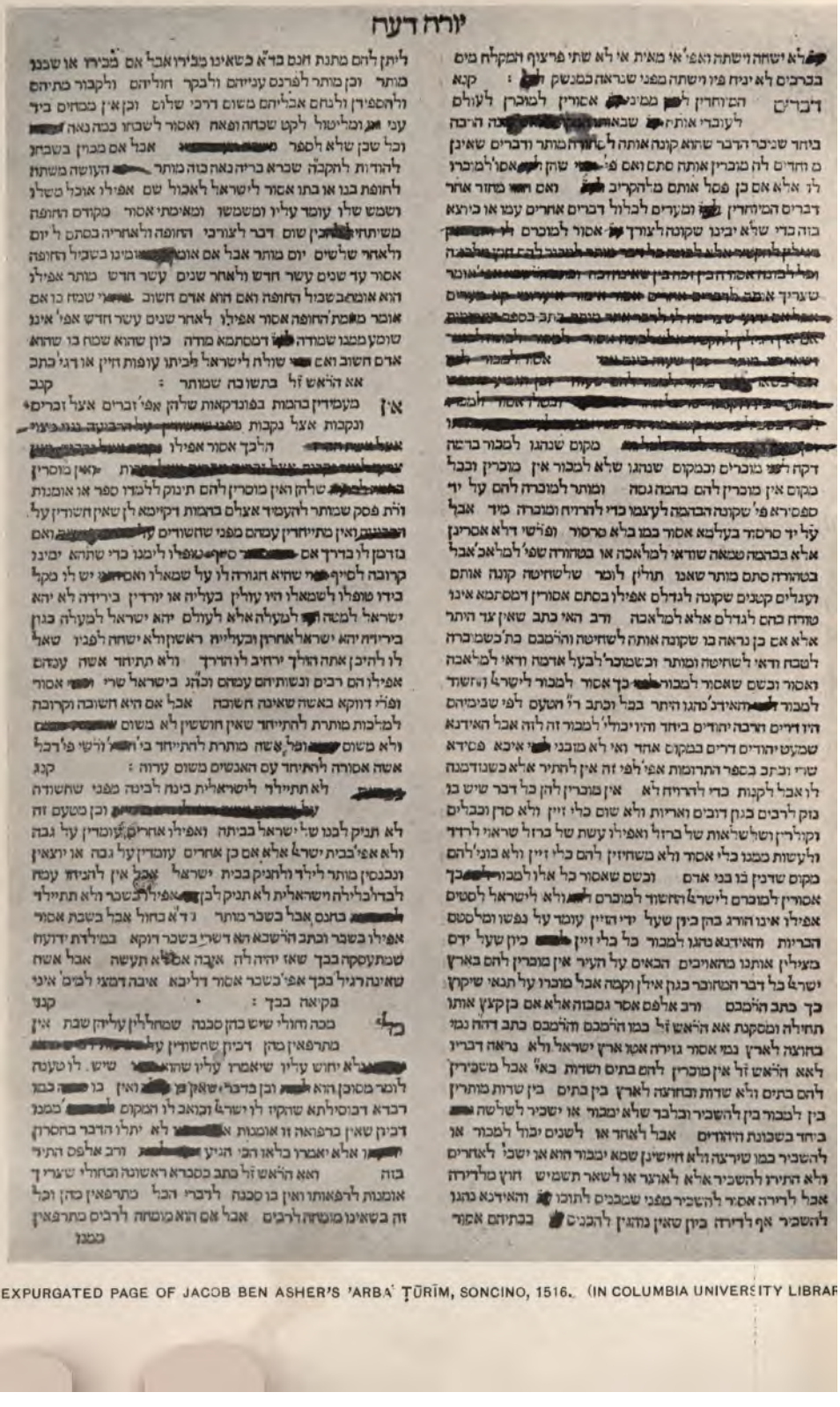

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THE CENSORSHIP OF HEBREW BOOKS

By

WILLIAM POPPER

NEW YORK
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1899

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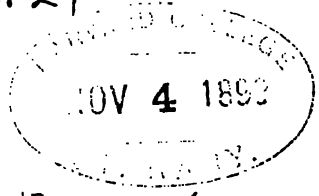

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PREFACE.

The inducements that led to the choice of the subject of this dissertation were especially two: firstly, the intimation broadly made by several writers on Hebrew literature that a history of the Censorship of Hebrew Books would be a desirable undertaking; and secondly, the favorable opportunity offered to this writer for the gathering of material upon this topic, since the excellent Hebrew Library of Columbia University contains many censored and expurgated *incunabula* and early editions.

This dissertation does not pretend to be anything like a complete history; neither has its scope been confined rigidly within the limits of the subject-matter connoted in its title. As is explained in its pages, several methods were practised for the repression of Hebrew literary freedom which, strictly speaking, cannot be classified under the head of either censorship or expurgation. Nevertheless it has been deemed proper to take a broader view of the scope of the subject and therefore to include herein all available notices dealing with any kind of restriction placed upon Hebrew literary activity. There is no doubt, however, that to a preliminary and incomplete study such as this dissertation, much might properly be added which the writer has either overlooked or failed to find.

It should be kept in mind that many of the conclusions announced herein as to the identity of individual expurgators, the correct reading of the inscriptions made by them, and the date and the location of their activity, can be at the best but tentative and conjectural. A discussion of the data upon which such conclusions are based will be found, with all the necessary particularity, in the Appendix. Doubtless, a collation and comparison of additional data from books and manuscripts in other libraries will bring about many a correction and modification.

My thanks are due to Mr. George H. Baker, Librarian of Columbia University, for permission to photograph censors' inscriptions

reproduced in this volume, and for other courtesies extended. I likewise acknowledge my indebtedness to the authorities of the New York Public Library for one inscription, which has been properly accredited in its reproduction herein. To Mr. Alexander H. Geismar I express my sincere thanks for his trouble in reading the proof sheets of this essay. But especially am I grateful to Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, who has not only read proof for me, but has also put his own references on the subject, his library, and his valuable time at my constant disposal.

In the transliteration of Hebrew words the equivalents used will be easily recognized. The system adopted by Wright in his *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* has been followed, with but one or two slight deviations and inconsistencies.* Words and names which may be regarded as having become anglicized have been spelled according to the accepted usage; *e. g.*, names like Nachman and Jechiel and titles like Mishnah and Talmud.

In the citation of the principal authorities the following abbreviations have been used:

Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*—A. Berliner, *Censur und Confiscation hebräischer Bücher im Kirchenstaate*, Frankfurt-a.-M., J. Kauffman, 1891.

Berliner, I and II.—A. Berliner, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, Frankfurt a.-M., J. Kauffman, 1893, 2 vols.

De Rossi, *Cremona.*—G. Bernardo De Rossi, *Annali Ebreo-Tipografici di Cremona*, Parma, 1808.

H. B.—M. Steinschneider, *Hebräische Bibliographie* (*Ha-mazkir*), Berlin, 1858–1882.

Ersch u. Gruber.—Ersch und Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopadie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, Leipzig, 1818-1850.

'Emeḳ (L).—Joseph ha-Cohen, *'Emeḳ ha-Bākhāh*, edited by M. Letteris, Cracow, Joseph Fischer, 1895.

'Emeḳ (W).—*Emeḳ habacha* von R. Joseph ha-Cohen, übersetzt und mit Noten versehen von Dr. M. Wiener, Leipzig, 1858.

J. Q. R.—*Jewish Quarterly Review.*

Lea.—Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1888, 3 vols.

Lebrecht.—Fürchtegot Lebrecht, *Kritische Lese Verbesserter Lesarten und Erklärungen zum Talmud*, Berlin, W. J. Peiser, 1864.

M. G. W. J.—*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums.*

* Several errors also, due to a certain amount of necessary haste, have been noticed too late for correction; e. g., *'elnū* several times for *'ālnū* (pp. 17 and 29); "Das Judenspiegel" for "Der Judenspiegel" (p. 22); "Gregory IX" for "Gregory XI" (p. 19); "Clement VIII" for "Clement V" (p. 104); "Cionti" for "Cronti" (p. 104); "Giambatista" for "Grambatista" (p. 44); "Benedict III" for "Benedict XIII" (p. 117); "Franciscan" for "Capuchin" (p. 102).

Neubauer.—A. Neubauer, *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian.*

Rabbinowicz.—Raphael Rabbinowicz, *Ma ᵓmar ʿal Hadhpasath ha-Talmudh*, München, 1877.

R. E. J.—*Revue des Études Juives*, Paris, 1844 ff.

Reusch.—Franz Heinrich Reusch, *Die Indices Librorum Prohibitorum des 16ten Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1886, (Stuttgart Literarischer verein. Bibliothek, vol. 176).

Reusch, I and II.—Fr. Heinrich Reusch, *Der Index der Verbotenen Bücher*, Bonn, Max Cohen & Sohn, 1883–1885, 2 vols.

Steinschneider, *Catalogus.*—M. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Librorum Hebræorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, Berlin, 1852–1860.

Stern.—Moritz Stern, *Urkundliche Beiträge über die Stellung der Päpste zu den Juden*, Kiel, H. Fiencke, 1893.

V. u. R.—H. Vogelstein und P. Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, Berlin, Mayer & Miller, 1896.

Wolf.—Jo. Christophori Wolfii, *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, Hamburg & Leipzig, 1715.

Zunz, *Ritus.*—L. Zunz, *Die Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes*, Berlin, 1859.

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literature was liable to the supervision both of the rabbis and of state officers.

Hardly had the first collection of Hebrew literature been concluded, and the canon of the Bible been closed, when steps were taken to prohibit the reading of those works which had not received the approbation of Jewish scholars. In the tenth chapter of the Mishnah *Sanhedrin*, Rabbi Akiba is recorded to have forbidden the reading of non-canonical writings by declaring that whosoever did so would not have a share in the future life.[1] Later this decision was reiterated, the Jerusalem Talmud applying it to such works as *Ben Sira'* and *Ben La'anah*,[2] the Babylonian Talmud to any works of the Sadducees,[3] while the Midrash (Ecclesiastes xii: 12) declares that a man who brings any book whatever but the Bible into his house brings with it confusion. As examples of such works, *Ben Sira'* and *Ben Tigla'* are mentioned.[4]

In these decisions, though any efforts to enforce them are unrecorded, there can be seen the attempt of the rabbis to legislate against possible heresy; and this was also the motive which prompted many more serious measures affecting Hebrew books—measures passed by the state. State, as far as a peculiar treatment of Jews is concerned, is almost synonymous with church, by which they were at nearly all times treated as heretics. And since to check the spread of heresy and force conversion to Christianity were the dominating motives in the lives of many church rulers, the prohibition of Hebrew writings which taught peculiarly Jewish, non-Christian doctrines, was natural and inevitable. By the time that a precedent for the Christian policy toward heretical works in general had been firmly established by Constantine's decree of 325 A.D. that the works of Arius should be condemned to the flames and capital punishment be inflicted on anyone who should be found with a copy in his possession, and by Theodosius the Third's similar decree in regard to the writings of Nestorius (435),[5] certain distinctively Jewish teachings were current which soon attracted attention.

[1] In the Berlin *Mishnah* of 1833, 71 b. The non-canonical works are called *ḥiṣonim*, "outside" (books).

[2] Cp. Geiger, *Urschrift der Bibel*, 201.

[3] *Sanhedrin*, 100 b. l. 13.

[4] *Yalḳut Shim'oni* (Warsaw, 1876), 1096; Wünsche's Midrash, III: 159. Who *Ben La'anah* and *Ben Tigla* were is unknown. Cp. Geiger., loc. cit.

[5] Gibbon, *The Roman Empire*, II: 507; IV: 658.

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In bringing heretics to trial, action was taken, at various times, through one of four different channels: through state, episcopal or papal Inquisitions, or through the papal Legate. The first of the Inquisitions to be established was the episcopal: some time after Charlemagne had ordered the bishops to act in conjunction with secular courts in cases of heresy, the former had gone further, and, treating the canon law as if it were superior to the civil law, had established in the various episcopates independent courts presided over by "Officials" or "Ordinaries." Though these episcopal Inquisitions soon became neglectful, and had to be superseded, they continued to exist in places beside other institutions.

Then the attempt was made to institute actions for heresy through the papal Legate or "Nuncio," who exercised the supreme power of the Holy See wherever he might be assigned as the direct personal representative and plenipotentiary of the Pope.

When the papal Legate also was found to be an inefficient agent, the next attempt, early in the thirteenth century, was made to hold the various State governments responsible in the matter. Uniform regulations, describing the duties which every secular power owed in the extermination of heretics, were sent to different countries; but though for a while they were enforced by certain governments, in Spain alone did the State Inquisition gain a firm foothold.

Just at this time, however, there came into existence a new class of workers—the Mendicant Orders. In 1207 Pope Innocent had authorized the Legates to license certain men as travelling preachers, and among them was Domingo de Guzman or Dominic. During his missionary work as a "Minor Preacher" he attracted to himself certain others who lived together as a community, or "Order," of monks (1214). Three years later Dominic dispersed his band for missionary duties in various countries. They, also, were eminently successful; laymen and ecclesiastics of all ranks flocked to them as "Brothers" or "Preaching Friars"; a regular organization was effected, the territory of activity was divided into provinces, and at the head of each was placed a "Provincial Prior." By 1221 there were eight of these provinces, Spain, Provence, France, England, Germany, Hungary, Lombardy, and Romagnuola, containing in all sixty convents.

Very similar to this Order in development and organization

was that founded in the same period by Giovanni Bernardone of France, surnamed "Francesco," the followers of whom, though known in history as "Franciscans," called themselves, in order to be distinguished from the "Preaching Friars," "Minorites."

Every member of these Orders held himself ready to undertake, at any moment, any mission, in any part of the world to which he might be sent. This readiness and facility afforded an amount of power which was soon appreciated; and to the Orders Pope Gregory IX. turned in 1227 when he took his first step toward founding the "Papal Inquisition." In a few years this was a thoroughly organized institution, especially in Italy, where every important city and town had its Inquisitor. He, as well as his subordinates, were almost invariably members of the Orders, whose efficiency as a powerful body of private messengers, spies, priests and soldiers was increased by making them completely independent of the regular ecclesiastical organization. This meant that they were to be immediately subject to the Pope, to whom it gave the means of carrying out any project without other clerical co-operation. For an Inquisitor, while performing his duties, could not be excommunicated for any cause whatever; he was relieved also from all subjection to the provincials and generals of his own Order, and even forbidden to obey them in matters pertaining to his inquisitorial duties.

These duties were performed at first in the Mendicant convents, which served as courts, but later, separate buildings were erected for the purpose and became known as "Holy Offices," though this title was also applied at times to the organization itself. The Inquisitor was assisted by several subordinates, who were assigned by the Provincials, and even Bishops are known to have acted in this capacity. "Vicar" or "Commissioner," "Counselor," "Notary," "Familiar," are the titles held by various of these officers. The first was a deputy of the Inquisitor, assigned to cases remote from the main tribunal, or to others which the Inquisitor himself did not try. The "Counselor" was a sort of legal adviser, the "Notary" a secretary, and the "Familiars" the much dreaded apparitors, messengers, spies, and bravos who carried out the orders of their superiors.

CHAPTER II

DESTRUCTION OF THE TALMUD IN FRANCE — EXPURGATION AUTHORIZED IN SPAIN (1232–1322)

While these attempts at securing an institution for the suppression of heresy were being made, events were so shaping themselves as to bring Hebrew literature to the the notice of the friars just as they were firmly established in the Inquisition. Already in the XI century, the Crusaders in their march through Germany had left to mark the path behind them, beside the bodies of murdered Jewish children, heaps of burning Hebrew books. The story is told how in many a German community all the *maḥzōrīm* (prayer-books), excepting perhaps one, had been burnt, and a single copy had to suffice an entire congregation.[10]

Acts like these, it may be, were only the work of a mob, unauthorized and without much significance here. But what in reality was much more ominous, although at the time much less apparent in its effects, was the attention which, in the XII century, Peter the Venerable of Cluny, philosopher and Arabic scholar, gave to the Talmud. In order to understand the Talmud, that compilation so full of folk-lore and the survivals of popular customs mingled indiscriminately with science, philosophy and religion, not alone learning, but also a sympathetic appreciation of its history and true nature are necessary. These qualities could not be expected at a time like this, and therefore trouble was inevitable. Peter the Venerable, it is true, when he selected from the Talmud many individual words and passages which by themselves seem often wild, senseless, even offensive, was content merely to hold them up to ridicule. But it required only a change of temperament to turn ridicule into active hate.

[10] Berliner, *Einfluss der hebraischer Buchdrukerei*, 22–24. Berliner finds the origin of several Jewish customs in this fact. The rocking to and fro of the orthodox Jew at prayers is due to the necessity of one prayer-book, at times such as those described, serving for several worshippers: as they sat, Oriental fashion, on the floor, their repeated motion of bending forward to get a glance at the book, and then of sitting upright again, became habit, and then custom ; still later it was explained as a ritual requirement.

At one time the only copy of the *mᵉ'ōrāh* (a special poetical prayer) for Chanukah which could be found was one saved half-burnt from the fire. This was used in that condition in the service ; and in the place in question it became a custom to begin the *mᵉ'ōrāh* in the middle instead of with the first words.

The Jews themselves were not without their share of blame in bringing about this change, and in opening a period of literary persecution which extended over the ninety years following 1232. At the beginning of this century the orthodox and more fanatical portion of the people had become very bitter against the philosophical writings of Maimonides. Solomon ben Abraham of Montpelier was the leader in a movement to condemn these writings as heretical; seeing the force of the ban as used by the Christian Church, and with which Gregory IX was just then urging the University of Paris to check the spread of philosophical study, he called to his aid Joshua ben Abraham Gerundi and David ben Saul. These men united in uttering a ban against any one who should read Maimonides' philosophy, who should busy himself with any study other than that of the Bible and Talmud, or who should interpret the Haggada in any way other than that in which Rashi had interpreted it. Some of the North French Rabbis joined in the movement, and the contest between the Maimonists and the Anti-maimonists became most bitter (beginning of 1232). Then the orthodox party took a more fatal step. In many of the large cities of southern France like Montpelier where the Inquisition had been as firmly established as in Italy and where Dominican cloisters were situated, supposed heretics were being burned by the zealous friars; and it was to the friars that Solomon of Montpelier turned. He requested that they proceed against Jewish heretics as they did against their own and charged that most of the Jews of Provence had been led astray by Maimonides. The Dominicans and Franciscans were persuaded; and at the eager command of the papal cardinal legate, at least in Montpelier a house search was made for Maimonist writings. All those found were brought together, and in December, 1233, took place the first public, official burning of Hebrew books.[11]

This example was soon followed in other places, and it seems that the movement was extended to include all classes of Jewish writings. A little more than a month after the affair of Montpelier, according to Hillel ben Samuel, an auto-da-fé of Talmudic and other works was held in Paris, at which 12,000 volumes were publicly destroyed[12]; and soon Hebrew books were looked upon

[11] Lea, I: 554.

[12] Graetz, VII: 46; Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, 90; Geiger, *Judenthum und seine Geschichte*, 45.

as the rightful prey not only of the Church, but of any mob on mischief bent.[13]

From this time on the Dominicans showed themselves the most consistent enemies of Hebrew literature; and the sternest among the Dominicans, were the converted Jews. One of the first of these to cause trouble was Nicholas de Rupella, who as a Jew had borne the name of Donin. He was a Talmudic scholar and had expressed certain doubts as to the authority of that work and of oral teaching in general. As a result he was put under the ban by the French Rabbis and became very bitter in his feelings against them. Determined on vengeance, he became a convert and was baptized under the name of Nicholas. In 1236, he went before Gregory IX with a charge against the Talmud which contained no less than thirty-five points.[14] Among other complaints, he charged that the Talmud distorts the meaning of certain biblical passages; that its Haggadic portions (*i. e.*, those which contain the narrative exegesis) teach unworthy conceptions of God; that it is yet esteemed by the Rabbis as of more value than the Bible; and, above all, that in many of its passages abusive language is used in speaking of Jesus and Mary.[15] If anything further were needed to induce action on Gregory's part, it was contained in the declaration that these very faults in the Talmud are the cause "which especially keeps the Jews obstinate in their perfidy."[16]

It was soon found that Donin had thus used to advantage the knowledge obtained, through experience, of papal eagerness to make converts. Gregory sent to the rulers, temporal and ecclesiastical, in France, England, Castile, Aragon, and Portugal,[17] decrees in which he cited twenty-five articles of complaint against the Talmud, and ordered that on the morning of the first Saturday in Lent, when the Jews would be at early service, all Talmud copies should be confiscated and handed over to the

[13] A certain Meïr ben Isaac tells how in Narbonne, during a demonstration against the Jews in 1236, the mob broke into his house and carried off some of his books; these, however, friendly officials later forced them to return. (Bodleian MS. Hebrew F. 48, reprinted in Neubauer, *Mediæval Jewish Chronicles*, II: 251.)

[14] Gorten, *Ankläger des Talmuds*, 6.

[15] Graetz, VII: 113.

[16] Quoted from Quetif und Eberhard, *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, I: 128 (cited by Graetz, VII: 463).

[17] *R. E. J.*, I: 247; Graetz, VII: 113, 464.

Dominicans and Franciscans. In the confiscation the kings of the countries mentioned were to support the movement with all the temporal power at their command; the Provincial Superiors of both orders of monks, by this time in full charge of the Inquisition, were to have the contents of the Talmud examined, and, if Nicholas' charges should be found true, the Talmud was to be publicly burnt (May or June, 1239).[18]

In Spain and England Gregory's decree seems to have met with little response. But to France the Pope had paid special attention, and had directed his orders particularly to the Priors of the Order of Preachers and of the Minor Order of Paris. He had also given Nicholas Donin a personal letter to William, Bishop of that city, directing him to use the utmost zeal in France, the center of Talmud learning, the home of the Tosaphists.[19] So here the decree of the Pope met with a ready response from the king, Louis IX and the Dominican, Henry of Köln. Under threat of death the officials forced the Jews to surrender their Talmud copies to await the result of the examination by a commission. This commission consisted of Walter, Archbishop of Sens; William, Bishop of Paris; Geoffrey of Bellvello, Dominican and Royal Chaplain; and other temporal and clerical officers. Truly a worthy gathering of judges—not one of them understood Hebrew! Certain Rabbis were summoned, therefore, to testify in answer to Donin's charges. They acknowledged some of the charges, controverted others, and finally urged that the Talmud was indispensable to the Jew for a correct understanding of the Bible. After this hearing the tribunal gave its decision against the Talmud, and condemned it to the flames.[20]

The Jews did their utmost to avert the calamity, and the affair dragged on for years.[21] The first stay was gained when they prevailed upon, or, as some of their opponents held, bribed a certain archbishop who stood high in royal favor, to secure an order that their books should be returned to them. Then this friendly archbishop died suddenly, in the very presence of the king. The latter, urged by fear—he had been warned that this death was

[18] Vogelstein u. R., I: 236; Graetz, VII: 113.

[19] Those who "continued" the commentary to the Talmud after Rashi (Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes).

[20] Graetz, VII: 114.

[21] V. & R., I: 237.

divine punishment for his conduct in the Talmud affair—and by the repeated demands of the Dominican Henry and the apostate Donin, appointed a new tribunal to examine the Talmud. He ordered that Nicholas should repeat his charges before it, and that a defence might be made by four French Rabbis. In the presence of the Queen-mother Blanche this debate was held on June 24, 1240, R. Jechiel of Paris acting as spokesman. From an account of the affair which has come down to us it is worth while to quote the principal charges brought: (1) The Talmud is given an undue value and authority by the Jews; (2) It contains blasphemies against Jesus, (3) against God and morality, (4) against Christians.

As typical of the spirit in which these complaints were made, the last of them can most easily be explained. Every instance of the use of the word "*gōy*" (non-Jew) and therefore every condemnation of any enemy, irrespective of when, how, or by whom it was supposed to have been uttered, was referred to "Christians." After seeking to invalidate most of the charges, the Rabbis turned to the most important point, and acknowledged that the Talmud contained slighting references to a certain Jesus. But, by taking into account the dates mentioned in the Talmud, and other evidence furnished by the early Church Fathers themselves, they attempted to show that another Jesus, who had lived at some time earlier than Jesus of Nazareth, was the subject of these notices. They failed to convince the commission; the Talmud was again sentenced to the funeral pyre, though it was some time before the sentence was carried out.[22]

Involved in the fate of the Talmud was that of almost the entire Jewish literature, a fact which very soon became evident. One of the points in the charge of offence against morality mentioned above was now urged against the prayer-book also, and Jechiel was compelled to defend in a similar manner a literary composition used in the ritual for the eve of the Day of Atonement, the *Kol nidhrē*. This is a prayer the purpose of which is to ask absolution from all vows (*i. e.*, *kol nidhrē*) unintentionally violated, and it closes with the formal declaration on the part of the congregation that all such vows are null and void. From very early times it had been taught that this prayer by no means

[22] *R. E. J.*, I: 247–261; II: 248–270; III: 39–57; Graetz, VII: 116 ff. For a review of all the passages in the Talmud which treat of Jesus, cp. H. Laible, *Jesus Christus im Thalmud*, Berlin, 1891.

meant to ask release from any duty which one knew he owed to his neighbor. But just this very interpretation was charged in 1240, and this charge is of importance as indicating a tendency which became very strong in later times to make also the prayer-book, because of this and other prayers, an object of the censor's persecutions.[23]

During the years 1241–1243 the papal throne was practically unoccupied all of the time, and nothing further was done in regard to the Talmud. In 1243 Innocent IV was elected pope, and in the following year he called upon Louis IX to burn the Talmud wherever found in his domains. The Jews sought further delay by petitioning for another investigation[24]; but finally the confiscation was carried out, and on a certain day, fourteen wagon loads (consisting of 12,000 volumes[25]) of the Talmud and similar works, collected by force from the Jews of France, were delivered in Paris. When, on another day, six more wagon loads had been added, Donin's desire was publicly fulfilled in Paris (Friday, June 17, 1244).[26] So great was the grief of the French Jews over this destruction of the Talmud that, while some of the poets wrote elegies as they had done over the destruction of Jerusalem, the mass of pious orthodox in after years kept the anniversary of the calamity as a fast day.[27] Nor were the French Jews alone in their affliction, for it appears that in Rome also at this date the Talmud was confiscated.[28]

But no measure, however strict, could long keep the Jew from his books, and what happened at other times may well have happened now. Hidden in wells,[29] buried among the roots of trees,[30]

[23] The same charges against the *Kol nidhrē* were brought later in Germany, and will be mentioned in their proper place. Cp. Zunz, *Ritus*, 147; *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge*, 389, 390 note h. Rohling, *Der Talmudjude* (6th ed.), 83; Lowe, *Pesaḥim*, p. 62; *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 1885, No. 33; Dembitz, *Services in Synagogue and Home*, 175–177; on the first mention of the *Kol Nidhrē*, *J. L. B.*, 1889, 184.

[24] Reusch, *Die Index der Verbotenen Bücher*, I: 46.

[25] Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, 90.

[26] Reusch, *Die Index der Ver. Büch.*, I: 46. Graetz, VII: 117. For a different date assigned to the first burning of books in Paris, cp. Jost, VI: 11; Lea, I: 555. But cp. Graetz, VII: 462–467; Vogelstein u. Rüger, I: 237.

[27] Graetz, VII: 117.

[28] Vogelstein u. R., I: 237.

[29] "I, Joseph ha-Cohen, saw a book which was externally in a very bad condition, because it was one of those which the Jews in those evil days (1394) hid for so long a time in the wells, to await the passing of (God's) anger." *'Emeḳ* (L.), 86.

[30] See the letter quoted on page 20.

snatched from the very flames,[31] there were always some volumes saved. And as soon as the watchfulness of enemies became a little relaxed, these treasures were brought from their hiding-places; others were smuggled into the city from distant lands by various devices; and still others perhaps were bought from neighbors whose sense of duty, while it had urged them to aid in the acts of violence, was still not so strong as to prevent them from saving out of the general destruction a volume or two, which they sold back to the eager Jews at a profit.[32] Then it became a labor of love on the part of the latter carefully to restore these manuscripts where injured, and faithfully to copy them for friends and scholars; so that half a dozen years had not passed before the careful work of pope and king, friar and soldier, was thus secretly all undone. And when in 1247 Innocent IV issued a bull acquitting the Jews of certain charges which had been made against them in connection with the murder of a Christian child, the French Jews were quick to take advantage of this show of justice, and endeavored to secure the right of studying openly what they were now studying secretly. They so far won the Pope over that he ordered Odo of Paris to examine the Talmud again, and, providing such a step would work no injury to the interests of the Church, to return Talmud copies to their owners. Odo appointed for his new commission more than forty examiners, of whom Albertus Magnus was one. But here broad-mindedness ended, and the Jews soon had cause to repent of their efforts; the Talmud was again condemned, and Odo, informing Pope Innocent that he had been misled, as Cardinal Legate issued a decree against the return or the possession of Talmud copies (May, 1248). Then Paris witnessed another auto-da-fé.[33]

It proved as fruitless of permanent results as previous measures had been. Within six years the Talmud was being studied again to such an extent as to call for a warning from Pope Innocent IV to Louis of France. The monarch responded by issuing

[31] See Note 10.

[32] R. Jehudah Lerma, in *Leḥem Y'hūdhāh*: "Then I found one book in the possession of Christians who had snatched it from the flames, and I secured it at a great cost" (in 1553; *'Emeḳ* (W.), note 282, page 208).

[33] Graetz, VII: 128; Lea, I: 555, describes this as the first burning of the Talmud, and mentions that there were also examined by the commission the "Gloss of Solomon of Troyes, and of a work which from its description would seem to be the Toldos Jeschu, or history of Jesus" (Note at bottom of page 556).

the customary orders, and made punishment as a transgressor and banishment from his realms the penalty for their violation (Dec., 1254).[34] The next year a copy of his decree was directed especially to Louis' officers in the Narbonnais[35]; and the Synod of Beziers supported the general movement with a similar order.[36]

Such an example of zeal as Louis set in his activity against the Talmud was not without influence in the neighboring friendly kingdom of Aragon. It was added to the other influences at work there in causing King James to listen to those who urged measures against the Jews. The Dominican brothers were very active in his territory as mission preachers and enemies of heretics, and the stern Dominican-general himself, Raymond de Penjaforte, acted as James' father-confessor. But of all the Order it was again a deserter from their own ranks who was the most active in bringing trouble upon the Jews. He was Paul Christian of Montpelier, who induced King James to invite the noted Spanish Rabbi, Moses ben Nachman, to hold a disputation with him on the question of Jesus' messiahship. Such a debate was held in July, 1263, in Barcelona, and resulted in less benefit to the Dominican than in honor to the Rabbi from the King.[36a] But in chagrin Paul went before Pope Clement IV and brought charges against the Talmud similar to those which had before been brought by Donin, and at the same time complained against Nachman and King James.[37] The Pope listened willingly, and under date of August 19, 1263,[38] through King James, he ordered the Jews of Aragon to submit their books to Paul Christian for examination. In this decree a radical step was taken, probably by James of his own accord, in that he authorized books to be expurgated of obnoxious passages, and then to be returned to their owners.

Though expurgation was a milder treatment of Hebrew books

[34] Graetz, VII : 467.

[35] Lea, I : 555.

[36] Reusch, I : 46.

[36a] For a Catholic account of this disputation, cp. Denifle, "Quellen zur Disputation Pablos Christiani mit Moses Nahmani zu Barcelona, 1263," in *Historisches Jahrbuch of the Görres-Geselschaft*, VIII : 225–244. For a review and criticism of the arguments advanced therein, cp. I. Loeb : *R. E. J.*, XV : 1–18.

[37] Graetz, VII : 142–147.

[38] *R. E. J.*, XXX : 258 note.

than utter destruction, the Jews did not submit even to it with any alacrity,[38] and within a year or two James issued new decrees; in one of them he ordered Nachman's works (under the title of "Sofferim") to be burnt[39]; in another he instituted a commission to which he again ordered the Talmud and other Hebrew books to be submitted for expurgation.[40] This commission consisted of the Bishop of Barcelona, Raymond de Penjaforte, three Dominicans named Arnold de Singara, Petrus de Janua, and the well-known Raymond Martin; later Paul Christian was added. Their satisfaction with mere expurgation, though no examples of it from this period have been preserved to us,[40a] is sufficiently indicated by Raymond Martin's statement, that since the Talmud contained passages handed down from Moses, and which offered valuable evidence as to the truth of Christian doctrines, it ought not to be destroyed entirely![41] And, as a matter of fact, King James himself did not seem to be very anxious to adopt harsh measures toward the Jews: in a short time he even decreed that they need not submit their books to the Dominicans at all.[39] It was probably for this action as well as for his favor toward the Jews in other respects, that King James brought upon himself severe censure from the Papal throne (1266): he was sharply ordered to put away his Jewish favorites and to punish Nachmanides.[42] Again in the following year Clement IV was moved to action against King James: he directed the Archbishop of Tarragona, through the apostate Dominican Paul Christian, to force King James and his nobles, under threat of excommunication, to have the Jews deliver their Talmuds and other books to the Dominican and Franciscan Inquisitors and to other suitable persons, for examination; if they contained nothing blasphemous they

[39] J. Jacobs, *J. Q. R.*, VI : 604.

[40] Cp. last three references.

[40a] The only possible evidence of censorship practised in Spain is derived from the earliest printed books of Italy, where it is probable that Spanish MSS. served as copy. Even if omissions and changes in the former are due to similar omissions in the latter, it is impossible to assign them to any place or date, or even to say that Spanish MSS. were not censored by the Jews themselves. The whole censorship consisted in omitting the name "Jesus" and leaving a blank space followed by the adjective "the Nazarene," or of omitting both words. (Rabbinowicz, *Ma ᵃmār ʿal Hadpasath ha-Talmud*, 24 ff.)

[41] Graetz, VII : 148.

[42] Graetz, VII : 149; Vogelstein u. Rüger, I : 242, where "Alfonzo of Aragon" is an evident error for "James of Aragon"; Alfonzo was King of Castile and Leon.

were to be returned; otherwise they were to be sealed up and securely kept to await further Papal orders.[43]

Beside this Spanish activity against the Talmud in Barcelona and Tarragona, documents of the same period are extant in the archives of Madrid pointing to similar measures there[44]; and to England also the Pope's attention was now directed. In 1286 Honorius IV sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury a bull in which the Talmud received special notice. It directed the Archbishop to use all diligence in seeing that "that damnable book be not read by anyone whatever, since it is the source from which all other evils flow."[45] If the Archbishop was in doubt, however, how to act in the matter, since the decree mentioned nothing of confiscation,[46] King Edward soon saved him all necessity of proceeding in this and other Jewish affairs by adopting a measure which later became a favorite one with monarchs—the total expulsion of the Jews from his domains (1290).

Philip the Fair of France was the first thus to follow King Edward. In 1299, while he was treating the Jews otherwise with general moderation, he complained of the great number of Talmud copies which they possessed, and ordered his officers to aid the Inquisition in hunting out and destroying such books.[47] Whether his orders were obeyed or not, in 1306 he suddenly issued a decree of expulsion. This time the King was not instigated to action by Papal demands; indeed, Clement V in the following year afforded a strange spectacle for such a period by establishing chairs of Hebrew and the cognate languages in the Paris, Salamanque, Bologna and Oxford Universities, for he desired that "before condemning the Talmud he might know what it is."[48] This leniency, however, had no effect in France; though

[43] Reusch, I : 46; Lea, I : 555; Graetz, VII : 147 and note. Graetz writes that the bull provided that if blasphemies were found, the books were to be burnt. He accepted the date 1264 for this bull, on the statement of Carpzov, and despite the fact that the document bears both the date 1267 and the phrase "third year of our pontificate." The forcible wording of the bull seems to presuppose some action on the part of James similar to that recorded in the years following 1264; and a fact which makes the date 1264 impossible is that Clement IV was not made Pope until February 5, 1565 (Brice, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. xxiii).

[44] *R. E. J.*, VI : 619.

[45] A. Benisch, *New Era*, IV : 389; Milman, *History of the Jews*, II : 268.

[46] Reusch, I : 46.

[47] Lea, I : 555.

[48] Moise Schwab: *Talmud de Jerusalem*, 51 ff.

the Jews were passively suffered to return, in 1309 again three large wagon-loads of Jewish books were publicly burnt in Paris; and in 1311 the edict of 1306 was repeated and finally enforced.[49] Nor did Clement VIII receive support in his position from other authorities; the Council of Vienne, which met in this year, showed its eagerness to nullify any possible effects of his leniency by declaring that whatever favorable opinions the Pope might have expressed in regard to Jewish literature applied to grammatical works alone, and to none other.[50]

This interpretation was accepted also by King Louis, the son and successor of Philip the Fair. When, recognizing the value of the Jews for the welfare and development of France he invited them to return (1315), and restored to them their property, he still denied them the Talmud.[49] The denial, however, was as ineffective as usual until the attention of the noted Bernard Gui, Inquisitor of Toulouse, was attracted. When he called upon the King for further action, and when the royal officers responded by making a careful and extended search through the houses of the Jews, they were rewarded by finding enough volumes to fill two carts. After an examination by experts in Hebrew, who reported to the Inquisitors and certain jurists assisting them, a decision was published by Bernard Gui, at an auto-da-fé of 1319, in which he forced a number of the Waldenses to pay the penalty for their heresy. The books were sentenced to be carried through the streets of Toulouse, while royal officers publicly proclaimed that their condemnation was due to the insults to Christianity which they contained; after this they were to be burnt. This was not sufficient, however, for Bernard of Gui; he must have realized that, despite the thoroughness of the officers' search, the Jews still had methods for retaining some of their treasures. So, with threats of excommunication for disobedience he ordered the priests of Toulouse to publish for three Sundays a command to the Jews to bring to the Inquisition all their Hebrew books, including the Talmud.[51] This confiscation in Toulouse was due then primarily to the Inquisitor, not to the Pope; but as though not wishing to be outdone in zeal by his subordinates, Pope John XXII sent direct orders to the Archbishop of Bourges to seize and burn all

[49] Graetz, VII : 286 ff; Milman, II : 217.

[50] Answer to the Jews' petition of 1731 in Berliner, *Censur und Confiscation*, 23.

[51] Lea, I : 556.

copies of the Talmud which he could find in his city (June 19, 1320).[52]

It will have been noticed that of all this agitation France was the center; strangely enough, while the Pope and his agents were so often successful in urging persecution in other countries, in Rome itself the Talmud was left in comparative peace. Only once before had this peace been interrupted; now, however, Pope John XXII gave his attention particularly to Italy, and in 1321 ordered a confiscation and destruction in Rome. When, during the Feast of Weeks, 1322, his wishes were finally about to be heeded, the leaders of the Jewish community tried by force to prevent the execution of the sentence. But in vain; and when in Rome volumes of the Talmud were thrown into the flames a fitting background was given to the scene by the Roman mob, which terrified the Jews by robbery and murder.[53]

CHAPTER III

INEFFECTIVE MEASURES OF THE XIV AND XV CENTURIES

These last events really mark the end of a first period in the persecution of Jewish literature. The period extended from 1232 to 1322, and during the next two, or two and a half, centuries, measures aimed against Hebrew books were few, and these generally failed of execution. Such was the result of an attempted demonstration in Spain against a well-known Jewish prayer (1370),[54] and of another Talmud disputation under Moses de Tordesillas in Avita (1375).[54a] The prayer in question is the *ʿalēnū*, and with the *Kol nidhrē* it furnished grounds later for many accusations. Thus in Germany a certain Pessach, known as a convert by the name of Peter, tried by a rather ridiculous use of cabbalistic methods to prove that it contained blasphemies against Jesus. The *ʿalēnū* prayer is one which extols the omnipotence of God on earth, and begins with the following words:

"Upon us (*ʿalēnū*) it is incumbent to praise the Lord of all, to ascribe greatness to Him who created the universe; that He has not made us to be like the other nations of the world, nor rendered us like the peoples of the earth; He has not made our portion

[52] *R. E. J.*, XXX: 257; Lea, I: 556; Reusch, I: 46.
[53] Vogelstein u. Rüger, I: 308.
[54] Zunz: *Ritus*, 147.
[54a] Graetz, VIII: 22.

like theirs nor our lot like that of all their multitudes. For they worship and bow down before idols *and vanities*, and pray to that which availeth not; but as for us, we bend the knee and bow and give thanks before the King of Kings."

In Hebrew, letters being used also as numerals, those which stand for the expression "and vanities" (*W, R, K*), according to the regular system of notation, when added together have the value 316. The letters of the name "Jesus" (*Y, SH, U*) have the same value. And on this, despite the fact that the prayer itself was written in the third century by R. Abba (*Rabh*) as the closing of the *mūsāph* ("additional") service for the New Year, Peter based his charge.[55] Fortunately the Jews were ably and successfully defended by the learned Rabbi Lipmann of Mülhausen, so that this threatened trouble was also averted (1399).[56]

A more serious danger threatened in the first years of the following century. In 1409 Alexander V turned his attention again to France, the southern part of which was full of heretics; and in directing the Inquisitor Frère Pons Feugeyron to proceed against them, he ordered also the destruction of the Talmud.[57] This was followed in 1415 by an attempt in Spain to use argumentation in securing Jewish conversions. The anti-Pope Benedict XIII, while he still had authority in Aragon, listened to the advice of a converted Jew of his court, Joseph Halorqui; hoping to repeat the success in conversion which the noted Dominican Vincent Ferrer had had in Mallorca, he ordered a disputation at Tortosa. Disappointed, perhaps, that but very few of the Jews were willing to avert more grievous persecutions at the cost of conversion, Benedict issued a bull of eleven articles, forbidding them, among other restrictions, to study or teach the Talmud and kindred works. He directed that all copies should be sought for and burnt together at one time, and, on pain of death, forbade the reading of other anti-Christian writings, like the *Mar mar Yēshū*.[58]

Benedict, however, was soon deposed by the Council of Costnitz, and his decree was never carried into effect. This can be easily understood, for Pope Martin V (1417–1431) issued several

[55] Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, 386.

[56] Graetz, VIII: 76; Zunz, *Ritus*, 147.

[57] Lea, I: 556; II: 157.

[58] Graetz, VIII: 133–135; Milman, III: 301. Graetz suggests that the *Mar Mar Yēshū* is the same as the *Tol'dhoth Yēshū* (published by J. C. Wagenseil in his *Tela Ignia Satanae*, 1661), which, according to Lea, had been condemned before at the Paris burning in 1248 (I: 556).

bulls favoring the Jews in different parts of Europe.[59] One of these permitted the Jews to study books of Jewish science and philosophy "provided they did not read, hear, or study Hebrew or Latin works containing anything contrary to the Catholic faith" (Feb., 1428).[60] Again, when in Rome Pope Eugene (1442) took all rights away from the Jews, and forbade them under threat of confiscating all their property to busy themselves with the study of sacred matters outside of the Bible, Duke John Francis opened Mantua to them as a city of refuge, and soon, on payment of a large sum of money collected by the communities of Italy, he secured a repeal of the restrictions.[61]

But outside of Italy it must not be imagined that the absence of historical references to attacks upon the literature implied a freedom from oppression. It was only that different, harsher measures were being adopted, because those already tried were felt to be futile. Futile they certainly were, because, however earnest, all the efforts made were only desultory, and when exerted in one region were allowed to lapse in another immediately adjacent. At no time did they represent an organized movement: now a King, now a Bishop, now a Pope directed that the books of a certain district be brought before him or some temporary tribunal; there was no one institution to which the supervision of books was permanently entrusted. It was not till 1369, and then only in Germany and for non-Hebrew books, that an attempt was made to organize censorship under the permanent direction of the established "Holy Office." In that year Charles IV authorized Inquisitors to use all the customary inquisitorial measures in securing the surrender and destruction of heretical works, and ordered all officers to aid in the task; in 1376 Gregory XI supported this movement with a bull directing Inquisitors in Germany, after examining all suspected writings, to punish those who continued to have in their possession such as were condemned.[62]

One method alone, expulsion of the Jew himself, had proved successful in ridding the land of obnoxious Hebrew books. France, England, Spain and Germany all adopted this plan; and finally Portugal, so long a protecting friend, having tried in vain

[59] Graetz, VIII: 133 ff, 147 ff.

[60] Bull printed in *Hebraische Bibliographie*, V: 73. Steinschneider, *Vorlesungen über die Kunde hebr. Handschriften*, 38.

[61] Vogelstein u. R., II: 11, 12.

[62] Lea, III: 613.

to force conversion, did likewise. When rulers enforced measures such as these, in charity let it be held that it was always because of a sense of duty—duty which (if it be not assigning an undue importance to one motive) urged them to combat that "which kept the Jew in his perfidy," to match with hate the Jew's love for his books. Then must indeed their measures have been severe! As the words of Rabbi Abraham Saba, one of the Portuguese exiles of 1497, bear witness:

"Then the anger of the Lord burnt against his people, so that all the Jews who were in Portugal were ordered by King Emanuel (God blot out his name and memory!) to leave the land [within a certain time]. Nor was this enough; but after the King had commanded that boys and girls should be torn [from their parents for baptism and Christian education], and then that we should be deprived of our synagogues, he ordered that all our books should be seized. So I brought all my books into the city of Porto [Oporto] in obedience to the royal decree; but yet I took my life in my hands by carrying with me to Lisbon the 'Commentary on the Law' which I had composed, as well as a commentary to the treatise 'Ethics of the Fathers,' and one to the 'Five Scrolls.' . . .

"But when I reached Lisbon all the Jews came to me and told me that it had been proclaimed to the community that every Jew who might be found with a book or with philacteries in his possession would be put to death. So straightway, before I entered the quarter outside the city, I took these books in my hand; two brothers went with me, and dug a grave among the roots of a blossoming olive tree; there we buried them. Yet, although a tree flourishing with lovely fruit stood there, because of the Law which was within it, did I call it 'Tree of Sorrow'; for I had buried there all that was pleasant in my sight—the commentary on the Laws and the Commandments, more precious than gold, yea, than much fine gold. For in them I had found consolation for the loss of my two little ones, torn from me by force to become unwilling converts. And I had said, 'These [books] are the inheritance of those who worship God; therefore must they be better for me than even sons and daughters.'" [63]

CHAPTER IV

THE "GOLDEN ERA" IN ITALY—THE REUCHLIN MOVEMENT—CENSORSHIP OF THE CHRISTIAN PRESS AND THE CATALOGUES OF PROHIBITED BOOKS—SELF-CENSORSHIP OF THE HEBREW PRESS

Southwestern Europe was the center of the first period of this history; strangely enough, when the Jews were driven out of that territory they found refuge in papal Italy, and Italy is the center of activity in future events. Here the Jews enjoyed for a long time what has been termed a Golden Era of Literature, and

[63] N. Rabbinowicz: *Ma'amār*, 5 and 6, note.

this prosperity was not really ended till the middle of the XVI century. When printing was invented the Jews were quick to take advantage: on Feb. 17, 1475, probably the first Hebrew printed book—a commentary of Rashi to the Torah—appeared in Reggio di Calabria. Jewish scholarship became general and caused such a demand for books that a wôrk like Kimchi's Lexicon, printed first in 1480, had to be republished in a second edition, 1490, and a third edition, 1491.[66] Still, with all their liberty, events were taking place around them which warned them to be wary, and for a while they restricted their publications.[67]

For printing had caused literature to take a more commanding place than ever in the history of civilization, and more especially in the spread of freedom of thought. This called forth from the Church added energy in the suppression of heresy and heretical works; and already in 1479 and 1496 the Holy See had declared a sort of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over publication[68]; the translation of the Bible into the vernacular was absolutely forbidden[69]; and the Inquisition itself, manned by the stern Preaching Friars, was watchful for violations of the law. Though none of this was directly applicable to the Jews,[70] their danger was indicated to them by the fact that, in 1488, attacks by the apostate Vicenza (probably the same enemy active in 1430–1440) upon certain of the Jewish prayers had to be answered.[71] For this reason when Gershom of Soncino published a few of the Talmud tracts at Soncino during the last decade of the fifteenth century, he took care not to restore any of the objectionable words omitted in the MSS. from which he printed[72]; and when

[66] Berliner, *Einfluss der Hebraischer Buchdruckerei*, 5.

[67] Rabbinowicz, 6.

[68] *H. B.*, VI: 68.

[69] Lea, III: 613.

[70] According to R. Gedalia in the *Shalsheleth*, Ludovico Moro (1477–1500) introduced a censorship of Hebrew books in Milan; but there is no evidence for this statement, and Steinschneider (*H. B.*, VI: 68) denies it.

[71] Zunz, *Ritus*, 147; *H. B.*, VI: 69.

[72] Thus in the treatise *B'rākhôth*, 17 a, and Rashi, 13 a and 28 b; in *Sanhedrin*, 16 a, the word "Jesus" has been omitted, and a space about the size of one letter left blank, but the adjective "Nazarene" has been retained. In other places, as *Sanhedrin*, 43 a, the whole phrase "Jesus of Nazarus" is wanting, and the space left blank, while in the same treatise, 103 a and 107 b, the phrase is left complete. In the treatise *Shabbath*, 67 a, the phrase "the son of Sateda, the son of Pandera" (names given to the mother and father of Jesus), is wanting. (Rabbinowicz, 24 note; for the name "Pandera," Strauss, *Life of Jesus*, 139 and note 7.)

danger increased, publishers not only retained this practice, but of themselves omitted additional passages which they thought might give offence.

The warning of increasing danger came first from Germany, where the earliest attempts at organizing press restrictions were made. One of the oldest censorship decrees is that of Mainz, Jan. 3, 1486; in 1501 all German printers were ordered, under threat of excommunication and fines, to submit every work before publication to the archbishop or his representative for examination, and to issue none for which a license had not been granted; while all copies of works already printed and found to contain anything obnoxious were to be given up for destruction.[73] Although the archbishops themselves were not very active in carrying out these laws, and no Hebrew books were being printed there to which the laws could apply, it was still in Germany that the first trouble for Jews in the age of the Reformation arose.

The history of all such troubles becomes now almost entirely a history of apostates; it would seem that the only alternative to deep devotion was cruel enmity. Such was the case with Victor von Karben, a German Jew who was converted and became a Dominican in the early part of the XVI century; and such more certainly was the case with Joseph (baptized as Johann) Pfefferkorn of Moravia. He likewise joined the Dominicans; and in 1507 he published a tract ("Das Judenspiegel") which was intended as the first of a series of attacks to culminate in one fatal blow to Judaism—the confiscation of all Talmudic writings.[74] For this the friars found a powerful ally in King Maximilian's sister, the Countess-abbess Kunigunde. Urged by her, Maximilian issued a decree in 1509 authorizing Pfefferkorn to examine all books possessed by Jews in German territory, and to destroy all which contained anything against the Bible or Christianity. A priest and two city officers were to be present at the proceedings in each place.

[73] Lea. III: 614 ff; *Real Encyc. für protest. Theol. und Kirche*, article "Index."

[74] Geiger, (*Johann Reuchlin*, 209 note) objects to making the apostates in this movement mere catspaws of the Dominicans. Graetz (IX: 87–162, used as authority for this account of the Reuchlin movement) has made the desire of the Dominicans to get possession of Jewish property the motive of the movement, and has perhaps not ascribed a sufficient importance to the impulses so common among the apostates themselves as such.

Pfefferkorn began his work in Frankfort, and immediately a violent protest was raised by the Jews, supported by some friendly Christians. The Elector of Mainz and the Archbishop Uriel of Gemmingen in the meanwhile summoned Pfefferkorn and informed him that the Emperor's decree for various reasons was illegal, and they advised him to secure a new edict. Soon after this, Pfefferkorn and the Dominicans of Köln (where Pfefferkorn was living) decided to ask for the appointment of an assistant who should be a man of known character and learning, that thereby the value and authority of their work might be increased. Johann Reuchlin was chosen to fill the position.

On November 10, 1509, Pfefferkorn went to the Emperor at Tyrol, and secured a decree from him that the confiscation should be carried out. The Archbishop Uriel of Gemmingen, however, was appointed to decide the questions at issue in regard to the Talmud, and he was ordered to confer with the Universities at Köln, Mainz, Erfurt, and Heidelberg, and also with men like Reuchlin, Victor of Karben, and the Inquisitors, before giving his decision. The search for Hebrew works began again in Frankfort, and 1500 more manuscripts were taken and placed in the town hall. When similar confiscations had taken place in Worms, Lorch, Bingen, Laufen, Mainz, and Deutz, the Jews again sent friendly Christians as delegates to the Emperor, to carry before him letters recommending leniency; among them was one from the Archbishop Uriel, who seems to have played a double roll in the affair, but to have been more a friend than an enemy of the Jews.

These delegates declared that Pfefferkorn's charges were false, and the Emperor was persuaded to issue a new decree ordering the return to the Jews of their confiscated books. Pfefferkorn answered with a letter printed in Latin and spread broadcast throughout Germany; in it he reviewed the whole case, and roused the German people to agitate against the Jews. The Countess Kunigunda, too, again urged her brother against them, and Pfefferkorn added as fuel to the flames of enmity some false accounts of his treatment at Jewish hands in Bavaria. On July 6, 1510, appeared the Emperor's fourth decree in this affair; in it Uriel was ordered to examine the question again, to subject to a thorough investigation the Talmud writings, and to consider carefully whether it would be for the interests of Christianity to burn these

works. He was again to confer with the German universities and men like Reuchlin, and then submit their views and judgments to Pfefferkorn for review.

Reuchlin's answer, given on October 10, was in favor of the Talmud and kindred works with the exception of Lipman's anti-Christian writings and a work before condemned and treated with disfavor even by the Jews, the "History of the Birth of Jesus of Nazareth" (*Tōl'dhōth Yēshū*). But in this friendly position Reuchlin was supported by the University of Heidelberg alone, and by that institution only so far as to urge the appointment of a committee for further deliberation. All the other advisers decided adversely: the faculty of Mainz, for instance, held that the Hebrew Bible did not agree with the Vulgate because it had been falsified in many places, and freed purposely from original references to Jesus. They decided that it, together with the Talmud works, ought to be burned. The other faculties and the Dominicans urged in addition to the destruction of the Talmud, the establishment of a perpetual court of Inquisition for the Jews. They would have Germany out-Spain Spain.

A long controversy between Reuchlin and Pfefferkorn followed the announcement of these decisions. Reuchlin was accused of heresy, and a commission, appointed to investigate, determined to give its decision not only against him, but naturally against the Talmud and the whole of Jewish literature. But there was still a spirit of justice and broad-mindedness even in parts of Germany; and while the students of the University of Mainz objected to the proceedings as illegal, men of influence likewise interfered. Even though preparations had been made for the auto-da-fè, and men were ready on the appointed day to light the fires, a hasty message from the Archbishop Uriel postponed the carrying out of the sentence for one month; he ordered the commission to reopen the case, and threatened, if it refused, both to nullify all its previous work and to deprive it of all power to act in the future.

The case, reopened, dragged along slowly, and was carried to Rome. In November, 1513, Pope Leo X, beloved of the Jews in Italy, persuaded by his Jewish physician Bonet de Lates, ordered all former verdicts to be set aside; and in a bull to the Bishops of Speier and Worms he decreed that Reuchlin should appear before certain judges and defend himself against an Inquisitor who had lately come forward as his great opponent, Jacob Hochstraten.

Before the expiration of the time set for trial, within one month from December 20, 1513, Reuchlin appeared, but his opponent did not. When the judges, through fear of the Dominicans, still let the process drag on for another three months, the Bishop of Speier himself decided that Reuchlin's writings were not heretical or false, that all books might be read by anyone, and that in the present trial Hochstraten should be held to pay the costs.

This decision met, of course, with fierce discussion everywhere. A humanist party arose throughout Europe in support of Reuchlin, with whom, out of hated rivalry to the Dominicans, the Franciscans sided. As the conflict between the two parties spread from Germany to Paris and Rome the Reuchlinists stood in these places naturally, if a little unwillingly, as friends of the Jews, the Talmud, and all Hebrew literature. The Dominicans were the leaven of the opposition.

The decision awarded to Reuchlin by the Archbishop of Speier, since it was won by default, was hardly satisfactory, and in June, 1514, Cardinal Grimani invited Hochstraten to appear in Rome, while he authorized Reuchlin, if he did not wish to attend himself, to send a representative. Despite the lavish expenditure of money by the Inquisitor, the case seemed likely to be awarded to the champion of liberalism. Then the Dominicans decided to center their efforts in bringing some strong influence to bear on the Pope. The University of Paris seemed to be the most likely agent for this; as the Emperor of Germany favored Reuchlin, by the rule, "My enemy's friend is my friend's and my enemy," Louis XII of France was bound to be an anti-Reuchlinist; to this was added the fact that Louis' father-confessor was a Dominican. Though the decision in favor of Reuchlin had already been confirmed in Rome, the pressure was brought to bear: the Dominicans became threatening, and Leo X was made to realize that if the friars were his ministers they were also the main-stay of his power, and therefore his masters.

He weakened, and the first sign of his changing attitude, which resulted finally (1520) in a judgment against Reuchlin, followed the decision reached by the Fifth Lateran Council in 1515 to restrict the liberty of the Roman press. In 1516 Leo X published a bull, in force yet at the present day, providing that every work, before being printed, should be submitted to certain censors for examination, and if deemed worthy of being printed, should have

this fact attested by the examiner's signature. In Rome the censors designated were the Papal Vicar and the Master of the Sacred Palace; in other cities and dioceses, the Inquisitor, and the Bishop or an expert appointed by him.

Whether it was the intention, in this first attempt at instituting a permanent press censorship in Catholic countries, to include Hebrew publications is not evident; the law itself assigned as the reason for its enactment complaints that many heretical books were being printed, such as translations from the Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldee.[75] In general, in those places where the law was carried out at all,[76] it was interpreted naturally as applying to Latin publications only; but in the city of Rome itself, where laws at this time and afterward were as a rule more strictly interpreted and enforced, at least one Hebrew work was published with state permission. The *Harkābhāh* of Elias Levita, published in Rome, 1518, bears the legend, "Grazia e privilegio,"—the first instance in history, apparently, of the censorship of Hebrew books before publication.[77] But, with this exception, and with the exception also of an edition of the Talmud printed in Venice (by Bomberg, 1520–1522) with a papal privilege, Jewish books until the pontificate of Julius III (1550–1553) show no signs of interference as a result either of this law or of certain others which were enacted.

It is nevertheless necessary at least briefly to chronicle such laws, which gradually made censorship a firmly established, organized, and comprehensive institution, and served as a model when Hebrew censorship was finally adopted. Press restrictions as enforced in Spain had at first formed part of the royal jurisdiction, but in 1521 were added to the other duties of the Inquisition. In England, though the papal legislation may not have been made

[75] Lea, II : 424 ff ; III : 614.

[76] Lea (III : 614 note) mentions several works which bear the *imprimatur ;* such as Nifo, *De Coelo et Mundo*, Naples, 1517, with a notice "by Antonio Caietano, prior of the Dominican convent, reciting the conciliar decree, and stating that in the absence of the Inquisitor, he had been deputed by the Vicar of Naples to examine the work, in which he found no evil. In the Venice editions of Joachim of Flora, printed in 1516 and 1517, there is not only the permission of the Inquisitor and of the Patriarch of Venice, but also that of the Council of Ten. . . . In the contemporaneous Lyons edition of Alvaro Pelayo's *De Planctu Ecclesiae* (1517), however, there is no *imprimatur*, and evidently there was no censorship ; and the same is the case in such German books of the period as I have had an opportunity of examining."

[77] Steinschneider, *H. B.*, V : 126.

effective at all, yet between 1526 and 1535 various restrictions were placed on the press; in 1524 Nürnberg accepted censorship, and in 1529 it was again decreed in Germany by the Diet of Speier. In all activity against the spread of heresy, Spain took a very important part, and especially during the reign of Charles V. By his order there was printed in Brussels (then under Spanish control) a list of books either containing heretical matter or written by heretics, and which all the faithful were prohibited from reading. This is important as being the first of the many similar and comprehensive lists which afterward became well-known under the regular title "Index Librorum Prohibitorum," "Index of Prohibited Books."

By the year 1542 new censorship legislation to reinforce that of Leo X was passed in Rome; and in the next year censors throughout the Catholic world, in Italy, South Germany, Austria, Spain, and Portugal, were strictly ordered to allow no writing to appear before the public which in the remotest way spoke against the dogmas of the Church or the infallibility of the Pope[78]; and as a check upon the unlimited responsibility of censors, Cardinal Caraffa ordered all booksellers to send to the Papal court catalogues of all books which they were offering for sale to the public. Nevertheless the Council of Trent, almost as soon as it met, still found cause for dissatisfaction, and forbade the sale of any anonymous religious books, approval of which had not been previously given by an Ordinary (April 8, 1546). The titles of these books were included in future lists of prohibited books, new editions of which were constantly being made necessary by the rapid work of the printing-presses. Such catalogues were published in 1546 by the Universities of Paris and of Louvain; that of the latter, by command of Charles V of Spain again, was characterized as "an index of pernicious and forbidden books." England too had some sort of a catalogue in this year, while the first Italian catalogue appeared in Venice (1548 or 1549), followed, in 1550, by a second edition (Rome) of the Louvain index of 1546.[79]

Amid all this legislation the publication of Hebrew books in Italy, except perhaps in Rome, went on in apparent security; but publishers themselves had constantly before them, in the history of the very books they were publishing, an emphatic warning not

[78] Graetz, IX: 354 ff.

[79] Reusch, *Index der Verbotenen Bücher*, I: 131, 204.

to put too much or too strong a trust in princes. They heeded the warning as best they could; and the slight attempts at avoiding offence indicated in the early Talmud tracts published by Gershom were repeated and made more comprehensive as the legislation against the Christian press became stricter. Gershom himself, in the early part of the XVI century, removed his publishing business from Soncino to Pesaro, and before 1520 printed many more of the Talmud tracts. At that early date, and even though his work may not have been known to outsiders, he was not satisfied with censoring the few words objected to in the manuscripts. He was more careful to omit everywhere the words "Jesus" and "the Nazarene," and left a corresponding blank space to be filled in, perhaps, when the purchaser should get his copy into the privacy of his own study. In addition, there were omissions in phrases like "the guilty Kingdom of Rome"[80a] (*ʿabhōdhāh zārāh*, the treatise on "Idolatry," 2 a, top, the last word being omitted. In *Mʿghillōth* (the treatise "Scrolls," 24 b, bottom) occurs a passage in which one is forbidden to pray with his dress or his philacteries in a certain condition, because it is the condition in which non-Jews (*gōyīm*) pray. The MS. copies of Rashi's commentary to this passage explain "non-Jews" as "priests who are the followers of Jesus of Nazareth"; but Gershom has changed this, and makes Rashi refer "non-Jews" to "idolaters." Similarly in *Mʿghillōth*, 17 b, Rashi's explanation of *gōyīm* as "disciples of Jesus of Nazareth" becomes "those who do not believe in the law of Moses, which he received from heaven." So in *ʿabhōdhāh zārāh*, at the beginning, *gōi* (non-Jew) is replaced by *ʿōbhʿdhē ʿabhōdhāh zārāh*, "idolaters."

Of a somewhat different nature is the omission of two entire passages in Rashi's commentary to *Kʿthūbhōth*, 15 b; the latter of these (the end of section 1) is that on the return of found articles, based on Deut. 22: 1 ff. In the eleven omitted lines is contained a discussion of the difference in treatment of found articles belonging to a Jew and those belonging to a non-Jew.[80] In these changes and omissions Gershom of Soncino anticipated the Church by thirty or forty years; for just such passages as these suffered afterwards at the hands of the Dominican censors.

In the following years, as dangers increased, the scope of

[80] Rabbinowicz, 25 and note.

[80a] "Rome," among Jews, was the generally accepted equivalent of "Christianity."

such self-censorship was broadened; for though the Talmud in former times had been the chief cause of offence to enemies, certain prayers like the *Kōl nidhrē* and the *ʿ*ᵃ*lēnū* had also been attacked. Therefore prayer-books too were subjected to this censorship; as an example, this very prayer, the *ʿ*ᵃ*lēnū*, as printed in the *maḥzōr* of Bologna, 1537, has the two offensive words, *l'hēbhel w'rīk*[81] ("before idols and vanities"), omitted, and the sentence formerly condemning other nations for idolatry, in this edition reads very abruptly: "For they worship and bow down."[82] Still other and later *maḥzōrīm* omitted this sentence entirely.[83]

In making such omissions various plans were adopted by different editors: some were satisfied with omitting the consonants and printing the proper vowel points alone; others omitted both, but left a blank space; and still others did not indicate the corrections in any way. But by 1542 Rabbi Meir Katzenellenbogen went still further in his self-censorship of the prayer-book used by the German community in Padua. For he omitted six entire portions, and substituted others less passionate in their places. And this same process was carried out in the *Sʿlīḥāh* edition of Hedernheim, 1546, in order that it might be truthfully described as "freed from everything obnoxious and dangerous."[84]

CHAPTER V

END OF THE "GOLDEN ERA"—DESTRUCTION OF THE TALMUD IN ITALY

Despite all these clouds gathering on the horizon and portending a coming storm, at the beginning of the pontificate of Julius III the Golden Era of Jewish literature continued as a reflection of the sunshine of papal favor. True, in Rome the Inquisition had sternly enforced decrees, so that the gradual cessation of Hebrew

[81] See page 18.

[82] Camillo Jaghel, censor, when he examined a copy of this edition (now in Columbia University Library) found no passages which he thought required additional erasures.

[83] Printed so generally in modern prayer-books; cp. *Festgebete der Israeliten*, M. E. Stern, Vienna, 1856.

[84] Zunz, *Ritus*, 148.

printing there ended with the prohibition of all Hebrew presses for more than two hundred and fifty years.[85] But after the Pope had issued a bull on April 29, 1550, repealing all previous permission which might have been given to possess or read forbidden books,[86] as far as the Jews were concerned he still acted generously, instructing Cardinals and papal delegates to respect Jewish religious observances, and not to annoy them in any way. And yet, as was the case with Leo X, it needed only sufficient pressure to cause even Julius III to act as the Dominican spirit demanded.

The hand on the lever which controlled this pressure was that of one now exercising great influence with the Pope. The stern Cardinal Caraffa, the very spirit of the Dominican Inquisition incarnate, was leader of a reactionary party in Rome; already in the time of Paul III, to enable him to carry out the purpose in which his whole life was centered, the office of Inquisitor-general had been revived for him; in matters connected with the Inquisition he was therefore the direct representative of the Pope.

His active attention was called forcibly to Judaism by a strange occurrence after Julius III had come to power. A certain Franciscan friar, Corneglio of Montalcino had become a convert to Judaism, and now, despite all interference, he insisted on preaching against Christianity in the streets of Rome. That he was a Franciscan added to the fervor with which the Talmud was immediately blamed by its Dominican enemies as the cause of this strange defection.[87] Converts from Judaism, again, it was who added what inducement there was necessary to change Jewish gladness into mourning. As the story is told, these converts were employed by two rival Venetian publishers of Hebrew books, and in the course of competition were sent to Rome.[88] Their actions there are detailed by the Chronicler Joseph ha-Cohen, who, as a contemporary speaks with bitterness:

"In those days certain worthless men came forth from our community, and began to commit in secret, offences against the teaching of the Lord our God; they became stiff-necked, deserted the Lord, and violated the covenant which he had made with

[85] Berliner, *Geschichte*, II: 122; III: 136. The only work printed between 1547 and 1810 was an edition of the Psalms, corrected by Vittorio Eliano, 1581.

[86] Berliner, *Censur u. Con.*, 3.

[87] Milman, II: 350.

[88] Vogelstein und Rüger, II: 146; *Acta Acad. Theodoro-Palat. Mannh.*, 1794, VII: 344 (Reusch, II: 1219).

our fathers. They walked in the way of those people whom God has forbidden us to follow, and roused them with lying words to anger, thus heaping sin on sin. They even laid before the Pope Julius a derogatory opinion of the Talmud, and said: 'The Talmud, a work possessed by the Jews, contains laws which differ from those of every other people, and it preaches opposition to your Messiah; there can then be absolutely no advantage to the Pope in permitting it to exist.' . . . The names of those slanderers are Hananel de Foligno, Joseph Moro, and Solomon Romano—O God! may their sins not be blotted out; on the day of wrath call them to judgment!" [89]

To the Inquisition belonged the task of proceeding against the Talmud; at its head were Cardinal Caraffa and five other Cardinals, forming the Congregation of the Inquisition. Eagerly did they undertake the task which was to furnish to Rome the first Talmud hunt the city had enjoyed for centuries. The Dominican himself can be pictured hastening into the Holy Office, in the north-western—Transtiber—region of the city, and only a few streets south of the Vatican itself. In the Holy Office he finds the ever-ready "familiars," and gives them their orders. Just as eagerly they hasten down along the west side of the Tiber, a mile and a half or two until they reach the Piazza Giudea. Here they separate, and while some force their way into each of the four synagogues, others search the many Jewish houses of the neighborhood, while still others cross the Quattre Capi bridge to include in the search the Jewish houses on the other side of the river. Their work concluded, they all return with their spoils to some appointed spot, then give them into custody, awaiting further action.

Before this was taken, the formality of a defence was allowed. Christian scholars learned in Hebrew first made a collection of objectionable passages and then some of the rabbis were allowed to discuss the charges. But the result could not be in doubt—the Talmud was promptly sentenced to the flames.

On the appointed day all the Talmud copies were carried across the river to a public square, the Campo di Fiori, some distance north-west of the Quattre Capi bridge and the future ghetto; a vast crowd had assembled here, and the pyre was lighted "amid the greatest applause of the populace." Over in the synagogues a multitude had assembled also, and the sound of

[89] *'Emek*, 128. Solomon Romano was called after baptism John Baptista Romano Eliano; he was a grandson of the well-known Hebrew grammarian, Elias Levita. (Graetz, IX: 356 and note.)

applause was echoed back with sighing and wailing as "the Jews bemoaned the pyre which the Lord's enemies had prepared." [90]

The Roman Inquisition exercised not only local jurisdiction but also general control over the various Holy Offices established in all the papal districts and in some of the other states. Three days after the event just described they issued a manifesto which brought to a close the prosperous period of Jewish literary freedom. It first declared the object of the Inquisition to be not only the eradication of heresy from the Church,

"but also . . . the direction of our energy against the blinded perfidy of the Jews, whom at times the Church of Christ has permitted to live like tares mixed with wheat . . . With great distress we have noticed that this Hebrew people, obstinately and eagerly pursuing that which is harmful for them, have almost entirely closed and sealed the Sacred Scriptures, and now study, day and night, only certain works which they call 'Talmud.' And they teach their children from earliest childhood now in place of piety, blasphemy; in place of open and sincere divine worship, fables and foolish superstitions; in place of a longing for the Savior and Messiah, a deadly hate of Christ and curses against all Christians."

The Cardinals then rehearsed the events of the 9th of September, as being the result of finding the charges against the Talmud true to such an extent that "even the lowest and most godless man could not listen to them without repulsion." Therefore they made known the desire of the central Inquisition that the benefits of its example might extend from the Church at Rome, mother of all, and from the magistracy there to others throughout the earth; and to this end the manifesto continued:

"By these presents, by the authority of our office, and by special order of our most sacred Master given to us lately *viva-voce*, we exhort every Christian prince, every state ruler, every Ordinary, and every Inquisitor—we exhort, warn, and charge them" under threat of excommunication: "As soon as these presents shall come to their notice, they shall cause all copies of the Talmud to be sought for throughout the homes and synagogues of the Hebrews who dwell in their respective states and countries, and when found, to be publicly burned.

"Furthermore we command all Hebrews dwelling in Christian states and countries, under penalty of confiscation of all their property . . . (to be divided one-fourth part to accusers or informers, the remainder in equal portions to officers, inquisitors, and temporal lords of the respective places) . . . that within three days. . . . they shall surrender all copies of the Talmud, both Babylonian and Palestinian, and each and every part of them which they may possess." They shall hand them to the Cardinals themselves, or to their officials, to the Ordinaries, or to

[90] A proclamation of the Inquisition, dated Rome, September 12, 1553, in Stern's *Urkundliche Beiträge*, 98 ff; and *'Emeḳ*, 128. Joseph ha-Cohen mentions nothing of the defence of the Talmud recorded in this proclamation.

the Inquisitors, in Rome either at the Campus Florae (Campo di Fiori) or in their own synagogues, in other cities or countries at designated public or private places. "And henceforth they may not and must not have such or similar books written, printed, or brought from faithless countries to the countries of the faithful, nor shall they in any way seek, have, or retain them.

"Finally, we warn all faithful Christians . . . that they shall not presume to read the above-mentioned work 'Thalmud,' inasmuch as it has been condemned by the Church . . . nor shall they dare to give advice, aid, or favor to the Hebrews in holding, writing, or printing books of this sort. Every transgressor of this provision, in addition to excommunication, shall receive the punishments meted out by law to the protectors of heretics.

"In witness of each and every one of these articles we have ordered these presents to be . . . subscribed and secured with the impression of the seal of our office. Dated Rome, twelfth day of the month of September, 1553, fourth year of the pontificate of our Sacred Master, our Lord Julius III, by divine providence, Pope." [91]

If the threats of punishment made by the Cardinals failed, their promises of reward succeeded, in inducing a general anti-Talmud movement; but still the sternness and thoroughness with which their wishes were carried out in different places depended to a large extent both on the relative authority and on the temperament of state and Inquisitorial officers. In the early movements it will be remembered that the Inquisitors in some of the Spanish and French districts, such as Tarragona and Narbonne, were the most eager to act in accordance with the papal policy. Now again, it was Barcelona which was the first district after Rome in which a confiscation took place. This was in the course of the same month, September.[92]

But for Italy also the measure had the greatest importance. In the Duchy of Milan, the Bishop of Alessandria received notice, dated September 16, of the Inquisition's decree. He decided to entrust its execution to the state, and soon called upon the Lord High Chancellor of the Duchy to have the State Council take action (October 5). The Jewish community, however, as soon as it heard of this decree, took steps to avert the danger; its leaders declared themselves ready to correct passages in the Talmud to which objection had been taken, and begged the Bishop of Alessandria to at least postpone action for two months, (before

[91] Stern, 98–102. Graetz, and V. u. R., give the date of this bull as August 12, 1553, the date which actually appears on several copies of the manifesto. One of these has a MS. correction of the month to September, with which other notices which mention the edict agree. It will be noticed that the document itself mentions the Talmud destruction as having already taken place on September 9. Cp. Berliner, I: 109–111.

[92] *Shalshēleth ha-Ḳabbālāh*, 96 a.

October 21).[93] Their petition was referred to the Governor of Milan, Don Fernandez, who generously "looked with disfavor on the Pope's command," and the Talmud, as a consequence, was not interfered with there until 1559. In the neighboring state of Montferrat a like disregard was paid to the decree.[94]

But Venice soon showed herself in full sympathy with the Inquisition, and perhaps inclined to even greater severity. On October 21 an edict was published by the central Council of Ten, in charge of state affairs. It ordered not only that all copies of the Talmud, or portions of it, but also all "compendii, summarii o altra opera dependente da esso Talmut" should be surrendered within eight days, those from outside of Venice should be sent there, and with those of the city be burnt on the Place St. Marcus. Violation of the order in any way should be punished by exile from all portions and dependencies of the state, and by fines, in the case of one found with forbidden books in his possession, amounting to 600 liras. In the city of Venice the execution of the decree was entrusted to the regular tribunal whose duty it was to proceed against blasphemy ("essecutori contra la biastema"), in other places to the corresponding officers. Thus a communication was sent to the court and city officers of Padua by the Doge, as president of the Council of Ten, on October 25.[95]

In Venice the confiscation was made to include more than the Talmud itself, but the question arose just what works were to be condemned under the terms "summaries, compendia, and works dependent on the Talmud." A certain physician, Elasar ben

[93] Stern, 102, 103.

[94] *'Emek*, 129. In Wiener's tranlation of the *'Emek*, p. 90, *Don Firanti* is identified with Don Ferdinand Gonzaga. This is in accordance with Joseph ha-Cohen's next words: "Also his brother, the Cardinal of Mantua," etc., who was of the Gonzaga family. But there is here evidently some confusion of names, for the Gonzagas were not rulers in Milan, but in Mantua and the dependent principality of Montferrat, and in Guastalla, a portion of the province of Reggio, adjoining Milan on the south-east; Guastala had formerly belonged to Milan, but in 1541 was made directly dependent on the Spanish Empire by Charles V. The friendly governor of Milan really referred to in these passages was probably Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordova, Duke of Sessa (Siessa, Sesa, or Sessare), "governatore et capitaneo-generale in Italia," who represented as governor the Spanish throne in Milan (cp. letters from the state archives of Milan, Stern, 130). He was a grandson of the famous "great captain" Gonzalo Fernandez y Aquilar de Cordova (Prescott: *Ferdinand and Isabella*, 689 note).

[95] Stern, 104–106.

Raphael, had become converted from Judaism, and to him, perhaps, was due this added trouble. For he tried to have the charges against the Talmud extended to almost the whole of Jewish literature; at one time it seems that even the scrolls of the Law were in danger of being seized, but prompt action on the part of the leaders of the community prevented this outrage.[96] To settle the question as to what works should be burned, a committee was appointed consisting of the Canon Don Leonardo, Frater Thommaso di Predice, and the theologian Juan Battista di Fresci Olivi. After consultation with other scholars, they gave their decision:

"Talmud of the Hebrews" is the great work called in Hebrew "Scithasider" [*i. e., Shishshāh Sᵉdhārīm*], or six orders of the Babylonian Talmud, of which the principal portion is the "Misnaioth," while questions concerning this text are included in the Ghemara, with all its comments, questions, and additions. The similar portions of the "Talmuth Jerosolimitano" are included under this heading.

"Parts of the Talmud" refers to such books as separate editions of the "Misnaioth," or of the text of "Pirtheavoth" [*i.e., Pirḳē Abhōth*, "Ethics of the Fathers"].

"Compendii" are such works as the "Alphes" [the Talmudic work of Isaac ben Rabbi Jacob Alphāzī].

"Summarii" are collections of sermons or stories from the Talmud, such as the "Henjacob Bethjacob" [the two parts, *ʿEn Yaʿaḳōbh* and *Bēth Yaʿaḳōbh*, of a work by Jacob ben Ḥabib ben Solomon].

"Works depending upon the Talmud" are such as "Adam" [?]; "Sceloth et Thesuvoth de Rabi Aser" [R. Asher ben Jechiel: *Shᵉʾēloth uthᵉshūbhōth*, or Responsa]; the "Sepher Amizvoth Gadol" [Moses b. Jacob of Coucy's *S. Miṣvōth Gādhōl*].[97]

Soon after this decision was given, the sentence was carried out on a Jewish Sabbath. Rabbi Jehudah Lerma, a Spaniard who was living and writing in Venice at the time, mentions as the books taken from him just those set as examples in the decision cited above: Alfazi's Talmud Compendium, Jacob ben Ḥabib's *Haggādhōth* from the Talmud, and the *Mishnāyōth*. How thorough the search for the condemned books was, can be seen from the author's statement: "And among them they burnt all the copies of my own works, which I had had printed, and which amounted to 1500 volumes; I lost every book which I had in Venice, and nothing printed or written was left to me—not even a single page for a remembrance. So I was forced to begin to write my work all over again from memory; but then, after I had written three

[96] *ʿEmeḳ* (L.), 129.

[97] Stern, 106–108.

chapters of it, I found a single copy of the edition in the possession of some Christians, who had snatched it from the fire; and this I secured at a great cost." [98]

During the course of these events in Venice, the condemned books were being burnt in Romagna, papal territory also [99]; and then the duchy of Urbino, to the north, fell into line. The Inquisitor Gerolamo Muzio in Pesaro instituted a search throughout the duchy, and had all the books collected therein, brought to that city. In order that the books might be properly sorted, he sent to Rome for an expert, and a certain Raphael, probably the same apostate who was so zealous in Venice, was commissioned for the task. An auto-da-fè of such works as were found undoubtedly to be covered by the Cardinal's decree was held in the public market-place, December 16, 1553. Concerning certain of the works, however, the same question which had troubled Venice arose here. And when, contrary to the contention of the Jews, Raphael convincingly argued that many of the Hebrew commentaries were Talmudic in their character and contained offensive allusions, the Duke of Urbino declared at one time that the Bible alone should be left for Jewish study. The Inquisitor, however, kept all books of which there was any doubt in his own house, and sent a list of them to the central Inquisition.

At the same time he complained that many places had not followed the good example of the Papal States, and suggested that the Holy Office urge on its agents to better work. In Ancona, especially, nothing had yet been done, and the Cardinal of Fano had even treated the edict with contempt. The reason assigned for this neglect was a general feeling in places that confiscation was useless, both because the Lutherans would soon print and translate the books anew, and because they might easily be imported from the east, where the press was unrestricted. In consequence of such an attitude, the Jews had come to hold that the edict was entirely suspended.[100]

This letter of the Inquisitor seems to have had its effect in inducing action on the part of the officials in Ancona, despite the fact that in a bull of December 5, 1553, renewing several privi-

[98] Reprinted in Wiener's notes to *'Emeḳ* (p. 208, note 282) from Carmoly's *Leḥem Y'hūdhāh*. Cp. also *Ḳōrē ha-Dōrōth*, 40b.

[99] *Shalshēleth*, 96a; V. u. R., II: 146.

[100] Reusch, I: 48; Stern, 113.

leges, the Pope had shown himself especially friendly to the Jews of that city.[101] But in January or February, 1554, the general confiscation order was enforced there too,[102] and Emanuel ben Jekutiel, an eye-witness of the scene, writes: "And when I came over the sea to my home in Ancona, and saw the dastardly burning of my Talmud, strong man though I was, in the bitterness of my soul I rent my garments and burst into tears."[103]

Jekutiel had many a companion in his grief, for now all over Italy "there was great mourning among the Jews, and fasting, and weeping, and wailing, yet they called upon God and prostrated themselves, saying: God is just!"[104] For in Ferrara, Mantua,[105] Padua,[106] the island of Candia (belonging to Venice),[106] Ravenna,[107] and all places which the Pope's decree reached, books were burnt by the hundred thousand.[108]

CHAPTER VI

CENSORSHIP AND EXPURGATION OF HEBREW BOOKS ESTABLISHED—INDEX EXPURGATORIUS

Such a general destruction of Hebrew works—at one time almost including the Bible itself—was clearly more than the Papal Court at Rome had originally planned. The Talmud alone was to be prohibited; and in the catalogue of prohibited books which the Inquisition published in Milan and Venice in this year (1554), while the "Talmuth" is mentioned as one of the works forbidden to the faithful, nothing is said of other Hebrew books.[108] So the leaders of the congregations of Italy united in sending a petition to the Pope asking for protection. After consultation with the Cardinals, Julius III issued a bull on May 29, 1554, which cited the edict of the Inquisition directed against the "ghemarat Tal-

[101] Stern, 108.

[102] *Shalshēleth* 96 a.

[103] *Emeḳ* (Wiener), 208 note.

[104] *'Emeḳ* (L.), 129.

[105] Zunz, *Ritus*, 148: "R. Me'ir complained to a friend that possession and study of the Talmud entailed corporal punishment;" Graetz, IX: 357.

[106] Graetz, IX: 357.

[107] The text of *'Emeḳ* has *Revīgāh*, which Letteris accepts for Revigo (p. 128); Wiener corrects to Ravennah (p. 208, note 281), which V. u. R., II: 146, accept.

[108] Indices reprinted in Reusch, *Die Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.

mud," and which ordered its surrender, under penalty of death. But by emphasizing the term "*gemarah*," the inference was allowed that other works, and even the *mishnayoth* as such, were not subject to destruction; and interference with books not expressly proscribed by the Inquisition was absolutely forbidden.[109]

The mildness of this edict, however, was materially modified by two other provisions: first, that in the future before any book should be published, it should be submitted to the authorities for revision; and second, that all books already in the possession of the Jews, and which contained anything derogatory to Christianity, should, under penalty of fines and corporal punishment amounting to death if deemed necessary, be surrendered within four months; it was then ordered that when the books in question should have the obnoxious passages blotted out they should be returned to their owners.[110]

By these measures, for the first time a complete supervision of Hebrew literature was made possible. The restrictions provided for, it will be noticed, were of three kinds: absolute prohibition (as yet restricted to the Talmud); censorship of books before publication; and the expurgation of books already printed. How far the possibility of complete censorship would become a reality, depended only on the thoroughness with which the central Inquisition could force its local agents to carry out these measures.

Thoroughness varied considerably at times, despite all papal efforts. While in Rome, as has been stated, Hebrew printing had already practically ceased, some of those who published in Bologna, Cremona, Ferrara, Genua, Mantua, Riva di Trento, Sabionetta, and Venice [111] continued to enjoy a comparatively liberal treatment. None of them, however, dared to publish the Talmud after this date[112]; and on June 21, 1554, a gathering of congregational representatives, held at Ferrara, decided that in the future no Hebrew book whatever should be published without the consent of three ordained rabbis in the place of publication; if the place were a large city, the consent of the leader of the community should be added; but if the place were so small that it supported no ordained rabbis, the consent of the leader of the nearest com-

[109] Reusch, *Die Index der ver. Bücher*, I: 47.
[110] Reusch, I: 47; V. u. R., II: 148; Graetz, IX: 359; *'Emek*, (L.), 130.
[111] Carmoly, *Annalen der Heb. Typographie in Riva di Trento*, (Frank, A.M., 1868.)
[112] Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 44, note.

munity would suffice. This was the first provision made for the *haskamah*, or rabbinic approbation, which was printed in a Polish edition of some Talmud tracts after 1560, and in the next century appeared regularly in the Hebrew publications of certain cities.[113]

From the papal side, one of the chief hindrances to a thorough censorship lay in the unfitness of the censors themselves. They were generally the Archbishop and the Inquisitor of any given district; but, for the most part, both were entirely ignorant of the Hebrew language. Besides, to be efficient, censorship should be consistent and uniform. Ignorance and inconsistency were two difficulties which had perhaps already been felt in non-Jewish censorship; and one attempt at overcoming them was indicated in a new sort of official publication which appeared in Spain just at this very time. On Aug. 20, 1554, Ferdinard de Valdes, Archbishop of Sevilla, issued a "general censure against the errors with which heretics have sprinkled new editions of the Bible." It contained a list of the heretical translations in each of 103 editions of the Bible; no new copies of such editions were to be sold, but all who already possessed copies were ordered to erase from them the indicated passages. This may be considered the first model of what later developed into a general "Index Expurgatorius," or list of passages to be expurgated from those works, which, while not absolutely forbidden, still were deemed to require correction.[114]

The first attempt in Italy at such an index was the one ordered by Julius III so as to overcome some of the difficulties presented by the proposed censorship of Hebrew books. The Pope chose for compiler Abraham Provençal of Mantua, one of a family of famous rabbis, and himself a physician, philosopher, and rabbi successively in Ferrara, Mantua, Casal-Montferrat, and Modena. He began his index in the last named city in 1555; but the magnitude of the task, necessitating a careful reading of the whole of Hebrew literature, promised no speedy practical benefit; and, indeed, soon after the death of Julius III in this year, the work seems to have been entirely suspended for some time.[115]

Prompter and severer measures of various kinds were adopted

[113] V. u. R., II : 148; Berliner, I : 109–111; Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 69; Rabbinowicz, *Ma'amar* 54, 55.

[114] Reusch, I : 200; for the first general index, cp. note 190.

[115] *R. E. J.*, XXX : 257; Zunz, *Kerem Hemed*, V : 157.

by Cardinal Caraffa when, following the short pontificate of Marcellus II, he was raised to the papal throne as Paul IV (May 22, 1555). He almost immediately established the ghetto, imposed other restrictions on personal liberty, and ordered the contribution of ten ducats annually from every synagogue in Italy for the support of the House of the Neophytes. This was an institution at which there were always Jewish converts in attendance, receiving their necessary instruction in Christianity; and to them Paul IV turned to overcome the difficulties presented by the ignorance of Inquisitors and Bishops in the desired enforcement of censorship decrees. Neophytes were henceforth entrusted both with the task of searching Jewish homes for forbidden works (undertaken in Rome already on July 12, 1555 [116]), and with the correction and expurgation of those permitted.

The first [116a] censor of Hebrew books was Jacob Geraldino. As "Apostolic Commissioner" he was given general charge, as far as his special work was concerned, over the whole of papal territory. His orders were to examine all manuscripts and all books already printed or to be printed, [117] and, as he might deem proper in each case, to correct and expurgate from them anything contrary to the Catholic faith of the Church of Rome, or contrary to good principles and morals.[118] His salary in this position was apparently paid by the Jews.[119] His duties compelled him to travel from one place to another, and from one book which he examined and signed it seems probable that in September, 1555, he was in Bologna, and that he was assisted by Caesar Belliosus as secretary or "notary." [120] When also in some places outside of

[116] *'Emek* (L.), 133. For the tax, cp. Stern, 115 (No. 110).

[116a] See Appendix, § 29.

[117] From a letter in the Library Brancacciana, Naples, reprinted by Stern, p. 161 (No. 155).

[118] From a letter addressed by the censor authorities in Venice to the Holy Office in Rome, in the papal secret archives; reprinted by Stern, p. 168 (No. 160).

[119] Stern, No. 155, p. 162: " . . . essi Hebrei senza esser contenuto nel motuproprio intromettono nell' espurgatione un' altro maestro Andrea neophito *promettendoli che participarà del salario.*"

[120] Steinschneider, in *H. B.*, VI: 68 (cp. also his *Vorlesungen über die Kunde hebräischer Handschriften*), has a note concerning a Florentine MS. in which he found the inscription: "*1555, 16 Sept. revisus per D. Jacobum Geraldini Commissarium apostolicum. Cæsar Belliosus Cimæ Episcopus Bonon. et dicti D. Commissarii Notarius man.*" According to this, Cæsar Belliosus was Bishop of Bologna, and it is known that Bishops sometimes acted as subordinates to Inquisitors (p. 5; Lea, I: 374), though that one should act as "notary" is somewhat strange. See Appendix.

papal territory censorship was soon instituted, Jacob Geraldino was apparently invited to include one of them (perhaps Ferrara,[121] then subject to the House of Este) under his supervision; for in March, 1556, his title appears as "Apostolic and Ducas Commissioner." [122]

Many years after this, charges of leniency toward the Talmudl of general inconsistency and lack of thoroughness were made against this first censor.[123] That fault should have been found cannot appear strange when the absolute authority granted to Geraldino, and the extent of the territory he was supposed to cover, are considered. That he required and had assistance at times is evident in the case of Bologna; and in some other place, perhaps Rome, his work was shared by a fellow apostate, Joseph Zarphati Alfasi, who had been converted and given the name of Andrea de Monte[124] in 1552.[125] Though Andrea was for many years afterward "a thorn in the side of the Jews," when later the charges were made against Geraldino, he shared the blame; indeed it was claimed that the Jews themselves had acknowledged him as a censor with the hope that, while satisfying the Inquisition, they would really receive lenient treatment at his hands.[123] As a matter of fact, Andrea de Monte showed all the customary zeal of a convert. On May 1, 1557, a new confiscation of Hebrew books was ordered in Rome, apparently in accordance with the bull of May 29, 1554, but no attention was paid to the prohibition of interference with non-Talmudic writings. All works in Hebrew that could be found, were seized, including even the prayer-book, of all the congregations in the city; and both the thoroughness of the search, and the zeal of Andrea de Monte are exemplified in the trouble which one such prayer-book caused. After the confiscation, in the beginning of June, this apostate was inspecting the synagogues of the city, and found in that of the German community a copy of Abraham ibn Ezra's Bible Commentary. Though it had been left there by a visitor, one of the leading members of the Synagogue Nova, and although the German congregation was entirely ignorant of its presence, yet as a result of Andrea's de-

[121] See Appendix.

[122] See Appendix.

[123] Cp. notes 117 and 118.

[124] Cp. note 119. Neubauer mentions one MS. signed (but not dated) by Andrea de Monte as censor (No. 568).

[125] Berliner, *Cen. und Con.*, 4 ff; V. & R., II: 156.

nunciation many were thrust into prison; the synagogue was ordered closed, and remained closed for nine months, while the congregation was sentenced to pay a fine of 1000 scudi.[125]

Though in the non-papal states no such sternness as this was yet evidenced, still censorship gradually became general. It will be remembered that when the rest of Italy was ablaze with Talmud fires in 1553, in the duchy of Milan (held by the Spanish) both the Bishop and the Duke had shown themselves friendly toward the Jews. Indeed one of the Milanese cities, Cremona, had become a very center of Hebrew learning; a well known scholar and rabbi, Joseph Ottolenghi, lived here, opened a school,[126] and edited many works published in Riva di Trento. The printing house of Rivadi Trento was founded by Christopher Madruz, Cardinal of Trent, and now Bishop, but who had once been Governor of Milan, and then Papal Legate at Ancona.[127] In 1556 a printing house was opened in the city of Cremona itself by Vincenzo Conti,[128] and when the publication of certain works was stopped in other places, Cremona shared with another liberal city, Mantua, in completing them.[129] Books, also, already printed, and which were not allowed to be kept elsewhere, were sent here and then exported to the East, to Poland, and to Germany.[129]

Notwithstanding this freedom, the Inquisition even before 1557 had extended censorship to the duchy, and had sent to the city of Milan M. Antonius Lucius as its agent; to him the Jews willingly brought their books, pointed out all passages of the kind to which objection had been made in Rome, and allowed them to be expurgated. They hoped thus to avoid more serious trouble in the future, and took care to have their action recorded in the public archives.[130] In the city of Cremona, also, at least a nominal supervision of books and printing was being exercised by the local Inquisitor and the Archbishop,[131] assisted by an apostate

[125] *H. B.*, V: 125 note.

[127] C. Carmoly: *Annalen der Hebräischen Typographie von Riva di Trento* (Frank. a. m., 1868). Carmoly corrects the statement made by others, as Ghirundi, that Ottolenghi published in Cremona; cp. *'Emek* (W.), 209.

[128] Bianchi: *Sulle Tipografie Ebraiche di Cremona* (Cremona, 1807), 8 ff; De Rossi, *Annali Ebreo-Tipografici di Cremona*, (Parma, 1808), 3.

[129] Graetz, IX: 381.

[130] From a letter addressed to Cardinal Michael Ghislieri by the Senate of Milan (Stern, p. 122, No. 115).

[131] De Rossi: *Annali Ebreo-Tipograf. di Cremona*, 10.

censor named Vittorio Eliano.[132] The very first work published by Vincenzo Conti, 1556, shows, by the letters S P Q R printed on the title-page, some degree of supervision,[133] while a work of the next year indicates a regard for Catholic fault-finding by the prefaced explanation that a certain term which occurs in the text, (*'ummōth hā-'ōlām*, "nations of the world," "non-Jews," or "heathens") does not refer to Christians.[132] In 1557 the first undoubted censor's notices are found, for on March 19 the Vicar of the Bishop, Decro Alberio, and the Vicar of the Inquisition, Gerolimo di Vercelli, signed a permit for the publication of R. Kalonimo's *'Ebhen Bōḥan*, which appeared in 1558.[131]

The leniency of the state officials, despite this censorship, in allowing Hebrew literature thus to prosper, attracted the attention of the Roman Court; the Inquisitor-general, Cardinal Michael Ghislieri, wrote to the Senate of Milan, and charged that "in the city of Cremona there are some who have treated the authority of the holy apostolic throne with contempt, and have had printed certain works, commentaries, etc. . . . called "Thalmud," although those works have been condemned by the venerable college, . . . and burnt in Rome, Venice, and other places." He therefore called upon the Senate to require the Inquisitor of Cremona to investigate and carry out the decrees of the Inquisition (Dec. 11, 1557). The Senate preferred, however, about three weeks later, to entrust the investigation to the Podesta of Cremona. He summoned the printer Vincentius, and examined also, as a witness, an apostate named Victorius; then, in a report directed to the King of Spain and the Duke of Milan, and sent to the Secretary of the Milan Senate, he denied that the Talmud was being printed in Cremona; at the same time he acknowledged that many copies of the Venetian edition were being used (Jan. 7, 1558).

The Senators were satisfied with this report, and not only informed the Cardinal that his charges were unfounded, but answered his appeal for the execution of the 1554 edict and for the confiscation and destruction of Talmudic works, with the objection raised by the Jewish people: that law had already been

[132] *H. B.*, V: 125.

[133] *H. B.*, V: 125 note. De Rossi (p. 3) in describing this work, *Tōl'dhōth 'ādhām*, "Generations of Adam," by R. Elia ben Moses Galina, does not mention the legend S. P. Q. R. (*Senatus Populusque Romanus*, "Senate and People of Rome").

obeyed through the erasure of offensive passages, and further interference was forbidden by a clause of the law itself (June 20).[134]

This seems to have settled the matter for a short while; the printing house in Cremona continued its publications undisturbed during that year, and beside completing six works, it began at least one other important one.[135] This was the *Zōhar*, the great cabbalistic or mystical work. In Mantua, where also censorship was mild, an edition of this work had already been proposed. Many rabbis made strenuous efforts to prevent its publication, fearing that it might meet the Talmud's fate; but the necessary consent of three rabbis was finally obtained, and the church itself, believing that the mysteries of Christianity were contained in the Cabbala, sided with those rabbis who wished to see it published.[136] Doubtless before it was presented to the officials, certain passages which refer slightingly to Jesus, and which have been omitted in the printed editions,[137] had already been cut out. Be that as it may, the Cardinal-bishop of Mantua declared that in the "Book Sohar he had found nothing contrary to the Catholic faith," and he therefore issued a permit for its publication (April 25, 1558).[138] Soon after this a license was granted also in Cremona, the edition which appeared there in 1560 bearing the names of Vittorio Eliano and Chaiim Gattinio as revisers, and of Alberio, Episcopal Vicar, and Grambattista Chiarino, Inquisitor-General, as granters of a license dated August 5, 1558.[139]

The Jews of Rome, in the meanwhile thought there might be an opportunity also for them to secure the removal of some of the restrictions placed on books; a meeting of all the congregations there was held, and it was decided that the other communities of Italy should be invited to act conjointly with them. It was purposed to raise a large sum of money, and a well known Roman Jew, Leon, was appointed as delegate to visit the various

[134] Stern, pp. 117–122 (Nos. 112–115).

[135] De Rossi, *Cremona*, 12: "R. Simon ben Jochai, Zoar ("Splendor"), cabbalistic commentary to the Pentateuch, Cremona, 1560."

[136] Graetz, IX: 383; *J. Q. R.*, XI: 272 ff.

[137] H. Laible, *Jesus Christus im Thalmud*, 2 note, and appendix, 19. One such passage is: "Jesus and Mohammed, who are as dead dogs, lie buried there."

[138] Stern, p. 122 (No. 116). The Mantuan edition appeared already in this year. Cp. Winter u. Wünsche, *Jüdische Litteratur*, III: 272.

[139] De Rossi, *Cremona*, 12.

cities and to receive contributions (June 4, 1558).[140] Whatever success he may have had, all hopes were shattered early in the following year, when the first papal "Index of Prohibited Books" appeared.[141] The prohibition against the "Talmud of the Hebrews—all its glosses, notes, interpretations, and expositions" was renewed[142]; and though this was not as severe as Valdes' Spanish index of this year, which forbade all Hebrew books, and all those written in any language containing Hebrew ceremonies,[143] still the uselessness of all endeavors in Rome was realized when Cardinal Ghislieri, the Inquisitor-General, ordered another burning of the Talmud.[144]

The question of forbidden books was reopened also in Milan by these measures. As soon as a copy of the Index reached the city of Milan, the Senate addressed a letter on the general subject of prohibited books to the Governor, Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordua, Duke of Sessa. They urged the injustice of confiscating books which had before been permitted in the province by the Inquisitors, and many of which were signed in the censor's own handwriting. Furthermore, among the prohibited works were many which not only contained nothing against Christianity, but which in no way referred to religion at all; but the worst of all was that books which did refer to religious matters, but which had been approved everywhere by churchmen, as furthering the spiritual welfare of mankind, should be burned because of the letter of one single man! (January 23, 1559).[145]

The Governor soon had an opportunity of indicating whether he was still inclined toward liberality. For as soon as the Index appeared in Cremona, the Inquisitor-General of that city (Baptista Clarius) ordered the Jews to deliver to him their Talmud copies within a certain time. Though some obeyed, the deputies of the various congregations in the duchy protested in a memorial, pre-

[140] Berliner, *Cen. und Con.*, 6.

[141] "Index of authors and books against which each and every one in the whole Christian world is warned by the Holy and Universal Inquisition, together with the punishment decreed against those who read or possess books prohibited in the Bull 'In cœna Dominis,' and other punishments contained in various decrees of the Holy Office."

[142] Reusch, I: 259, note 2.

[143] Reusch, I: 52.

[144] *Id.*, I: 48.

[145] Stern, 122 (No. 117).

sented probably to the State-Governor, and urged that this was a violation of the privileges granted them by the Senate (March, 1559).[146] After the Inquisitor-General, on April 1, prolonged the term in which forbidden books might be given up and punishment be avoided,[147] the Governor of Milan ordered the City-Governor of Cremona (Don Alvaro de Luna) to keep in his own possession all the Talmud copies so given up, but to return all books which were not included in the Index of Rome; furthermore, the Jews in future were not to be troubled on account of them (April 6, 1559).[148] When the Governor of Cremona sought to obey, the Inquisitor was bold enough to refuse to deliver to him the Talmud copies; some of the non-Talmudic works, however, he gave back to their owners before April 7.[149]

From this it can be seen that the policy of the Pope and that of the state officers were not entirely in agreement; and the Inquisition set about devising means to force the Governor, by pressure from various sources, to agree to a destruction of the Talmud; for this it was deemed most advisable to stir up the people. Accordingly "the monks became as thorns in the side of the Jews of Cremona, and brought them into evil repute with the inhabitants of the city."[150] Two of these Dominicans were Hieronymus of Vercelli and Sixtus of Siena; the former was already a vicar, or commissioner, assisting the Inquisitor-General of Cremona[151]; the latter, who was now appointed to a similar office, was an apostate well known to the Jews from his previous fanatical preaching against them throughout Italy.[152] On April 7,[153] these Dominicans wrote also to the Governor of Milan, suggesting that the Talmud be consigned to the flames because of its blasphemies against Jesus.[152] In resisting this the Governor remained firm; and, though he yielded so far as to agree that the Talmud copies should remain provisionally in charge of the Inquisition, he decreed that

[146] Stern, 126 (No. 118).

[147] *Id.*, 127 (No. 119).

[148] *Id.*, 128 (No. 120).

[149] Letter from the Podesta of Cremona to the Governor of Milan; Stern, 128 ff (No. 121).

[150] *'Emeḳ* (W.), 137, 138

[151] See note 131. Another vicar of the Inquisitor was Gioanni Dom. Vincentino, who signed a censor's permit on March 21, 1559 (De Rossi, *Cremona*, 13).

[152] Graetz, 382.

[153] From the letter of the Governor of Milan to the Podesta of Cremona, April 14, 1559 (Stern, 130, No. 122).

nothing further should be done with them except at his special order; he also repeated the command to return the books not included in the index (April 14, 1559).[153]

This gave opportunity for more agitation, the question arising now again as to the comprehensiveness of the Index prohibition: "Talmud, all its glosses, interpretations," etc. A censorship commission was organized, to which were appointed Vittorio Eliano, another apostate, and a Jew named Joshua dei Cantori, who, having lived in a feud with the learned Ottolenghi, was ready to take this means of opposing him and his friends.[154] This commission gave its decision against the Talmud, and decided that the Index prohibition applied to such works as the "Alphasi" and "Rabh Asher."[155] They were naturally opposed in this by the leading Jewish scholars of the community, but the two vicars of the Inquisition accepted their decision; all the copies of the works in question which had been confiscated were stored in a room of the monastery, probably being used as the headquarters of the Inquisition, and the key was given to the Governor of Cremona. In the communication of these facts to the Governor of Milan, the Podesta of Cremona stated that the two vicars had reported the return to their owners of books not suspected (April 17, 1559).[156]

The plan of wearing out the resistance of the royal Governor finally proved successful; he yielded, agreed that the Talmud should be burned, and even ordered his Spanish soldiers to aid in searching Jewish houses and the printing establishment for proscribed works. In general charge of all the parties of soldiers and minor Inquisition officers during this movement seems to have been the Vicar Sixtus Sinensis. When the searchers returned, it was found that they collected enough fuel to furnish an imposing auto-da-fè, for they had not been careful to discriminate be-

[154] Letter from the Podesta of Cremona to the Governor of Milan, Stern, 133 (No. 124). Joshua dei Cantori appears in *'Emeḳ* (L.), p. 138, as *Y'hōshua 'ben Ḥeth*, a Jew; Wolf in *H. B.*, I: 131 (cited by Graetz, IX: 382 note), calls him an apostate; the letter of the Podesta agrees with the *'Emeḳ*: "il terzo e Josue dei Cantori, qual è Hebreo."

Concerning Vittorio Eliano, nephew of Elias Levita, and brother of the renegade active in 1553 (p. 31), his name appears in two of the works published in Cremona: R. Ḥizḳija ben Manōaḥ, *Ḥazz'ḳūnī*, commentary on the Pentateuch, 1559 (De Rossi, *Cremona*, p. 11); and the *Zohar* (cp. note 135); cp. *H. B.*, I: 131, note 6.

[155] See page 35

[156] Stern, 131 ff (Nos. 123, 124).

tween Talmudic and non-Talmudic works. Even two thousand copies of the *Zōhar*, being printed at the time under the patronage of Vittorio Eliano himself, would have been added by them to their plunder had not Sixtus Sinensis interfered. The Vicar, however, did not grant the same immunity to 1000 copies of another work, the Pentateuch commentary *Ṣiyyūni*, also in the course of publication with a license just granted [157]; these formed part of a great pyre of between 10,000 and 12,000 volumes, over the burning of which Sixtus presided sometime in April or May, 1559.[158]

This *auto-da-fè* exerted a great influence throughout Milan; it spurred the Dominicans in other cities to similar activity; it caused serious apprehension among the Jews, and made them bitter against the scholar whose quarrel they blamed for the trouble [159]; but, by its excesses, it also caused a reaction in the attitude of the Governor, for the evidencing of which he had many opportunities; for the Dominicans, in their arrogance, went even so far as to seize the scientific works of Christian writers. In answer to one Jewish petition addressed to the Governor and the Senate, the former graciously promised to speak well of the Jews before the Pope, in order to win him from his harsh attitude, and to induce him to permit the reprinting of the Talmud—copies of which must indeed have been rare in Italy by this time.[160] From Cremona, although the Inquisitors had sent word that they had returned permitted books to their owners, the Duke received another petition, complaining that this had not been done in full, and begging for help against the two vicars who were planning to deprive Jews of their property and to ruin them. He sent the

[157] The cabbalistic work by R. Menaḥem Ṣiyyūni, Cremona, 1560, has printed at the end of the license of Decio Alberio "vic. del vescovo," and Gioanni Dom. Vincentino, "vic. dell' inquisitore," dated March 21, 1559.

[158] *'Emeḳ* (L.), 138; (W.) note 209; Graetz, IX: 382–385.

[159] *Id.* Ottolenghi received a good deal of blame, and perhaps this is the reason why his name is no longer found as editor in the Riva di Trento editions which appeared after 1560; *e. g.*, in the most noteworthy of this establishment's publications, the philosophical *Milḥ*^{a}*mōth ha-Shēm* ("Wars of God"), by R. Levi ben Gershōm, Riva di Trento, Dec., 1560 (Wolf., p. 729, gives the date as 1561). No one in Italy before or after dared publish this work, a fact which illustrates the liberty enjoyed by this publisher under episcopal protection; with the death of the printer the work here ceased after 1562. Ottolenghi died in 1570 (C. Carmoly, *Annalen der Hebräischen Typographie von Riva di Trento*).

[160] *'Emeḳ* (L), 140.

desired orders to the Podestas of Cremona and Lodi on July 29, 1859.[161]

Following these events, the Inquisitor in Alessandria started an anti-Talmud movement, and in August forced the Jews to surrender many books; then, though the Senate of Milan sent letters remonstrating with him, he demanded a large sum of money as ransom.[160] It was only when the Duke of Sessa himself, on August 22, sharply rebuked both the Inquisitor and the Podesta, and expressed his wonder that they had not yet heeded the Senate's decree,[162] that, "with anger and vexation, they gave up the non-prohibited books, on the 29th day of Elul."[163] This ended the affair of Milan. For when Paul IV died, on August 18, 1559, the Inquisitors of the duchy seemed unable any longer to oppose the royal Governor.

The authorities in Italian states like Mantua and Milan were not alone in thus directly opposing the policy of Paul IV. In France, where no attempts were made at printing Hebrew books, restrictions on the press[164] could of course not affect the Jews; but even in the matter of confiscation, in those places where Jewish communities and papal Inquisitions existed, papal orders were at times disregarded. Thus the Cardinal d'Armagnac, whose territory included the village of Bedarrides and its neighborhood, left the Jewish communities there in entire quiet.[165]

In Germany it was the Emperor who, though he expelled the Jews from the rest of Bohemia, checked the Dominicans in Prague. The trouble there also was due to renegades, one of whom, Jehuda of Modena,[166] charged that the Jews were accustomed to pray against Christians. The local authorities confiscated all their books, including even prayer-books, "so that not one of them was left"; but being undecided how to dispose of them, they sent them to Vienna for examination and decision. Soon afterward,

[161] Stern, 134, 135 (Nos. 125, 126).

[162] Stern, 135 (No. 127).

[163] *'Emek* (L.), 141.

[164] Henry II of France in 1559 made it an offence punishable with death, to print a book without authority; before this, books already had the legend, "By privilege from the King," on the title-page; e. g., an edition of Philo in Greek, Paris, 1552. The University of Paris claimed the right of licensing new theological works, but in 1566 an ordinance formally invested that power in the Crown.

[165] J. Bauer: *R. E. J.*, 29: 254, "*Les Juifs de Bèdarrides.*"

[166] So Wiener (*Emek*, note 294, p. 211) corrects the text (Let., p. 141), which reads "Jehudah of *'Udina*"; Graetz, IX: 385: "Ascher (?) aus Udine."

however, the Emperor Ferdinand ordered that they be returned to their owners.[167]

CHAPTER VII

COUNCIL OF TRENT—STERNER MEASURES OF PIUS V—BASLE TALMUD—DOMINICO IROSOLIMITANO

At the death of Paul IV there was great rejoicing, not only among Jews, but also among Christians, who hated him thoroughly, and by various ways tried to heap insults on the memory of the man whom they had so feared.[168] In the reaction which followed, the College of Cardinals decided on raising to the throne one who was not a Dominican; on December 16 their choice fell upon Giovanni Angelo de Medici, Cardinal of Milan (Pius IV). As far as he could, while the Jesuits and sterner churchmen were still all powerful, he followed the policy of his native state in regard to censorship.[169] To cite an instance, the Cremona publishing house was now permitted to bring out the *Ṣiyyuni*, the incompleted edition of which had been burnt by Sixtus of Sienna; and other books of the period bear no censors' or Inquisitors' names.[170]

Therefore, when the Pope summoned a great council of over 250 members at Trent to legislate on several subjects, and when Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, Bishop of Mantua, was made its first president in 1561, Jewish hopes for literary freedom ran high. At the Council's eighteenth session, begun on February 26, 1562, the question of books was taken up, and a committee appointed to devise means for amending the indices as new books might appear. This offered the Jews an opportunity which a bull of February 27,

[167] *'Emeḳ* (L.), 141. Nevertheless, two years later he expelled the Jews from Prague also (Graetz, IX: 388). Steinschneider, *H. B.*, V: 127, states that from this time on Prague was subject to censorship; against this Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, 269, holds that the similar statement of Hock, "censorship was practised [there] in 1558," is too general and must be materially modified. Self-censorship, of course, was practised; state supervision of the Hebrew press became general after 1620 (Zunz, *Ritus*, 148).

[168] *'Emeḳ* (L.), 142.

[169] Whether censorship by Geraldino or another was still maintained in the papal states cannot be stated. The only censor's name of this period recorded is Alexander Caius, 1559. See Appendix.

[170] De Rossi, *Cremona*, 13 ff.

lightening many of their civil burdens,[171] induced them to seize. Jacob de Bonaventura, early the next year addressed a petition in the name of the Jews, to the Council; he begged of its members not to include the precious Talmud in the works which it was understood they were about to order destroyed. He requested that that work, which had been several times expressly sanctioned by certain Popes, should be again carefully examined; for if there were to be found in it any passages which seemed to oppose the Christian religion, these could be so thoroughly censored, and the work be so presentably published, that it might be possessed and read by anyone without giving offence. For such a publication, of course, not only much labor, but also much money would be required; and the petitioner declared that he himself would be responsible both for this and for the faithful conformity of the desired publication to any copy which might be graciously approved by the council. This petition was referred to the Archbishop of Prague, as chairman of the Index commission referred to above; he seems at least to have taken the matter under consideration, for he sent to the Emperor Ferdinand I a copy of the petition, as well as a list of some of the "fables and blasphemies of which thousands are contained in the Talmud" (February 3, 1563). For having shown even this much interest he received a testimonial of thanks from the Jews (February 16).[172]

The commission, however, worked slowly, and on March 2 the friendly Cardinal Gonzaga died; perhaps, also, it was at this time that a decree of the Inquisition, condemning the Zohar and all cabbalistic works,[172a] gave cause for alarm. The Jews of Mantua, therefore, decided that further action was necessary, and on October 1 chose five deputies as an official commission, with absolute power in matters connected with the censorship of books. This commission then chose two of its number to go in person to Trent, to try first to keep the Council altogether from condemning Hebrew books, or, at least, to induce them to leave decision on the matter to the Pope himself, from whom the Jews expected much. If this should not be granted, they were to work to secure the freedom of all books except the Talmud, and failing this, they

[171] Graetz, IX: 390; *'Emek*, 157.

[172] Stern, 135–137 (Nos. 128–130).

[172a] Sixtus Senensis: *Bibliotheca Sacra*, article "Esdras," quoted by Graetz, IX: 385; Reusch, I: 48.

were to endeavor to obtain permission to publish any books after a previous censorship by whomsoever the Council might direct. These deputies were forbidden to acknowledge that the Talmud or any other Hebrew book was no longer needed ; and they were ordered not to act independently of each other in any matter (October 21, 1563).[173]

When the eagerly awaited decision of the Council of Trent was given (December 4), it was found that the wishes of the Jews had been at least partially satisfied ; for the Committee on Index reported that it was thought inconvenient for the Council as a whole to deal with the matter, and that therefore it had been decided to lay their report directly before the Pope for action.[174]

With the Pope Jewish arguments proved effective,[174] and when the Index of Trent appeared (March 24, 1564), it was found that although among the books prohibited were "the Talmud and its glosses, annotations, interpretations, and expositions," this was modified by the clause : "but if they shall be published without the title Talmud, and without calumnies and insults to the Christian religion, they shall be tolerated." [175]

For various reasons, however, it was not till 1578 that the attempt was made to publish the Talmud in conformity with these provisions, but the Trent Index has an interest other than that connected with the Talmud. For it was the foundation of all future action in regard to censorship ; all later Indices have it as a basis, and corrections and additions were made in accordance with the ten rules which preface it. One of these ten rules prescribed that certain classes of books,[176] instead of being entirely condemned, might be read when freed of obnoxious passages[177]; and though expurgation had already been allowed in 1263 by James of Aragon in the case of Talmudic works, by Valdez in the case of Bible editions, and by Julius IV in the case of rabbinic writings, this was really the first acknowledgment by the central authorities of its general validity.

The Jews of Papal Italy might well have been content to submit not only the Talmud but all their works to a most thorough

[173] Stern, 137, 138 (Nos. 131, 132).

[174] Graetz, IX : 391 : "und dieser erliess—für Summen—später eine Bulle."

[175] Reusch : *Die Index Librorum Prohibitorum.*

[176] Such, for instance, as contain only a few heretical phrases, the essential portions being without suspicion.

[177] Reusch, 1 : 325 *ff.*

expurgation. For when Pius IV died (Sept. 12, 1565) and Pius V was chosen to succeed him (Jan. 17, 1566) they found the new pontiff another Paul IV. They might even have been happy to submit to the further restriction, imposed in his first measure against them, forbidding them to buy or sell a single Hebrew book without special written permission.[178] This was only a warning, however, of what was to come, an edict repealing throughout the Catholic world all privileges granted by Pius IV (Apr. 19, 1566).[179] In non-papal Italy, Florence and the rest of Tuscany, Ferrara, Mantua, Pesaro, and Urbino, papal decrees still seemed to be altogether disregarded, and here the Jews found refuge when later expelled from the rest of Italy, as they were from Genoa on June 15, 1567. Milan, too, finally proved a place of safety, but only after a time of doubt. Though the Governor was still entirely friendly, the Spanish King, Philip II, was a stern Catholic; and not only was the Inquisition eager to support the Pope, but in place of a liberal, a reactionist, Carl Borromeo, filled the Cardinal's office. The famous Cremona Academy was closed; and the further loss of Jewish influence is shown by the fact that when an edict appeared ordering the Jews of Milan to wear the distinctive yellow cap, it was enforced. Then in Cremona and Lodi the customary confiscation of books took place on the 10th of Ab (July); and though, when the Jews complained to the Senate again, their return was secured (1566),[180] there was a renewal of censorship throughout the state. One of the reasons for its discontinuance had been its uselessness after the departure of Eliano and the other apostates, for the Archbishop and the Inquisitor knew no Hebrew. The rule was now made, therefore, that where such ignorance was evident on the part of these officers, censorship should be entrusted to some one else who was a Hebrew scholar; accordingly, in 1567 the President of the Senate appointed Dr. Ferdinando Bonetti, a theologian and noted scholar, reviser of Hebrew books not only for Cremona, but for the entire duchy.[181]

In Venice, too, increased press restrictions accompanied renewed troubles in the Papal states. In the latter (throughout

[178] V. & R., II: 164.

[179] Graetz, IX: 393.

[180] *'Emek* (L.), 148 and 159. (In this edition, Joseph ha-Cohen's chronicle ends with page 154, and pages 155 ff are by the anonymous continuer of the work.)

[181] Bianchi: *Sulle Tipografie Ebraiche di Cremona*, (Cremona, 1807), 13, 14.

Romagna and in Bologna), beside other oppressions and the confiscations of large sums of money, the few Hebrew books which remained from the persecutions of Paul were burnt.[183] In the former, before this time, Hebrew publications had borne no censor's marks, though the Inquisition, the Council of Ten, and the "Commission against Blasphemy," apparently immediately after Julius III's edict of 1554, had united in giving to a sub-commission charge of Hebrew books.[184] It is difficult to determine, therefore, whether such omissions and corrections as are noted in Venetian publications before 1567 [185] were due to this commission, or entirely to the Jews themselves. But in 1567 there was an evident increasing strictness; the services of an apostate, too, were found necessary, and Vittorio Eliano, formerly reviser in Cremona, was appointed to perform similar duties in Venice for at least one work.[186] In 1568 even the prayer-books published there show by blank spaces where offensive passages were censored.[187]

[183] *'Emeḳ* (L.), 149. If this be true, Sacerdote (*R. E. J.*, XXX: 258) in describing the Cremona auto-da-fé of 1559 as the last in Italy, must have overlooked this note.

[184] From the letter of complaint addressed to the Roman Inquisition, and now, undated and unsigned, in the papal secret archives (reprinted by Stern, 168, No. 160, and assigned to the 17th century): "Essendo stato determinato gia molte anni sono . . . che tutti i libri Ebrei fossero spurgati et corretti, fu datto il carico . . . in Venetia dal santissimo officio della inquisitione et dalli Ill^mi signori capi di dieci et signori sopra la biastema a noi di corregiere," etc. Perhaps "a noi" refers to the Cattaveri. See p. 94.

[185] An edition of Isaac 'Aramah's *'Aḳêdhath Yiṣḥaḳ* ("Binding of Isaac," commentary on the Pentateuch and the Five Scrolls) was brought out in 1565, and omits many of just those passages for which earlier editions, retaining them, were at other times severely censored. As these passages will be discussed more fully in the history of 1597–98 a passing notice will suffice here. In chapter 23 (cp. p. 88) where earlier editions have *mīnīm* ("heretics" or "infidels") *r^eshā'îm* ("wicked ones") is substituted. In chapter 28 a Messianic passage of six lines, in the commentary on Joseph's dream, and against which the later censors were particularly offended, has been entirely omitted (see p. 88), and still another whole portion in the same chapter, beginning, "And Christians have therefore been wrong in the interpretation of this passage . . . for they say the Messiah was to destroy the law and the commandments," down to the words "from now and forever" (see p. 88), has been omitted. So other single words and whole passages are changed or omitted.

[186] Jacob b. Asher, *Ḥōshen ha-mishpāṭ* ("Breastplate of Justice," fourth part of his legal work, *'Arba' Ṭūrīm*); the date "five thousand and twenty-seven of the Creation" = 1267 A.D., as given on the title-page, is an evident error for "five thousand, three hundred and twenty-seven" = 1567 A.D. At the bottom of the last page is printed, "Revisto & corretto per mi Vittorio Eliano justa la copia della corretion de libri, come è nel officio delli claris. S. essecutori contra la Biastema."

[187] Zunz, *Ritus*, 149.

The culmination of all such activity came in an almost fatal blow which fell upon the Jews of Italy; they were ordered (Feb. 26, 1569), under penalty of imprisonment and confiscation of property, to leave Papal territory within three months, Rome and Ancona alone excepted. Here, and in the places already mentioned, some found refuge, but many fled to welcoming Turkey,[188] which offered them even literary freedom and stood in strange contrast to Christian countries.

In Germany the official anti-Talmud sentiment was sufficiently expressed by the Index which was printed in Munich, 1569, a copy of that of Trent. In Belgium and Holland the famous Duke Alva, Spanish Governor, was ruling a rebellious people, and from him the Jews received no such kindly treatment as from his brother officer in Milan. In Liege (Belgium) also, a copy of the Trent Index appeared; in Antwerp one was published in 1570, and a second in 1571. These included the sweeping restrictive Spanish amendments forbidding "all books written in Hebrew, and those in any other language which contain Jewish ceremonies" or which "treat of their life." Even the Romance translations of Josephus' "Antiquities of the Jews" are especially forbidden in the regular list of heretical works.[189]

In all the indices now published expurgation was given a prominent place,[190] and though the expurgation of Hebrew books

[188] Graetz, IX : 396. *'Emeḳ, loc. cit.*

[189] Reusch, *Die Indices Lib. Proh.* : "Index of Pius IV. and the Council of Trent, with an appendix by the venerable deputies to whom was entrusted the duty of emending the catalogue, issued by Duke Alva by authority of Philip II." Cp. following note.

[190] In Alva's edict of 1570 (Feb. 15) the expurgation of errors from heretical books was ordered; and at a conference held in Brussels the methods of accomplishing this, in accordance with the Trent Index, were discussed. On the advice of Arias Montanus, Alva demanded of all Bishops, of the Universities of Löwen and Donay, and of a number of scholars that they send to him a list of what they deemed necessary corrections. From these a commission at Antwerp compiled an *Index Expurgatorius*, the first general Index of its kind. It was printed (dated June 1, 1571) with an edict of Philip II., as a supplement to the Index of 1571 (July 31). It was forbidden to sell this Index of Expurgation, and it was allowed only in the hands of regularly appointed censors (Reusch, *Ind. V. B.* I, 423 ff. : Richard Gibbing's introduction to the *Reprint of the Roman Index Expurg. of 1607*, Dublin, 1837). In Rome, where Pius V. had founded the "Congregation of the Index" to relieve the "Congregation of the Inquisition" of the preparation of the Index, though expurgation was not so fully treated, it was provided for by six special rules in the Index of 1571 (*R. E. J.*, XXX : 257). It was not till long after an *Index Expurgatorius* had appeared in Lisbon (1581) and one in Spain (included in Quiroga's *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* of 1584) that one appeared in Italy—1607 (Reusch, I : pp. 481, 490, 549); but cp. note 247, p. 69.

was not specifically provided for in any of them, this likewise soon became more general. Even before Pius V died on May 1, 1572, a special expurgator,[191] Laurentius Franguellus, was at work in one of the states, perhaps Ferrara (1571–72).[192] Mantua, too, now, commenced to license Hebrew books regularly, and on April 10, 1572, Giovanni Battista de Milano, Inquisitor of Mantua, gave permission to Mura de Crescino of Padua and his companions to print and sell Maimonides' *Yād ha-ḥ^azāḳāh* with a commentary, *Kēseph Mishnēh*, by Joseph Karo [193]; in de Rossi's *M^e'ōr ʿēnāyīm* (1574) the customary *imprimatur* is printed.[194] In Venice [195] and Cremona [196] also the printed license was revived in 1576 but without the censor's signature; while the year 1575 was again one of great activity on the part of Laurentius Franguellus.[197]

The most important censorship of Gregory XIII's pontificate (May 26, 1572–1585), however, was that of the Talmud, of which the Trent Index had permitted the publication providing the name *Talmud* were not used and the obnoxious passages were omitted. That the plan of printing such an edition was revived soon after Gregory's accession is evidenced by the request of Arius Montanus, a learned Oriental scholar of the Benedictine Order, publisher of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, who asked of Cardinal Sirleto permission to read the Talmud and indicate the passages requiring expurgation.[197] But it was not till 1578 that the publication was undertaken in Basle, with the Venice edition as a basis,[198] and with Marcus Marino of Brescia, assisted perhaps by Petrus Cavallerius,[199] as official censor. After his omissions, substitutions, and ex-

[191] De Rossi, *De Typographia Hebræo-Ferrariensi* (Parmæ, 1780), records no books published in Ferrara between 1568 and 1591.

[192] Appendix, § 105–109.

[193] Stern, 146 (No. 137); the work is also known as the *Mishnēh Tōrāh*, or "Repetition of the Law."

[194] "Stampato in Mantoua con licenza delli Superiori" (p. 184 b); after the supplementary index: "Et questo con la detta licenza," and after an author's note: "con la detta licenza."

[195] The three first volumes of Maimonides *Mishnēh Tōrāh*, which appeared before 1575, have no *imprimatur*; the fourth volume, 1576, has "*Con licentia.*"

[196] Eliezer ben Elia Ashkenazi, *Yōsēph lēḳaḥ* (a commentary to Esther), the only work which de Rossi assigns to the Cremona press between 1567 and 1586: "*Con licenza de superiori.*"

[197] Reusch, II: 1219.

[198] Reusch, I: 50.

[199] Fürchtegott Lebrecht: *Kritische Lese verbesserter Lesarten und Erklärungen zur Talmud*, 43.

planations had been made, the great work was left wofully, often foolishly, mutilated; nor were the changes even systematic or consistent, for words or passages censored in one place remained entirely unchanged in another. This may have been due to mere carelessness, or to the fact that different portions were revised independently by two censors[199]; it has been suggested also that immunity to some degree was bought.[200]

Corrected passages are in kind such as Gershom of Soncino omitted in his Pesaro and Soncino tracts, and are typical of those attacked in all censorship and expurgation. In every reference to non-Jews or non-Jewish customs an insult to Christianity was suspected; and so many of such references are found in the tract *ʿᵃbhōdhāh zārāh*, "On Idolatry," that Marcus Marino omitted it entirely.

Of individual passages, all which treat of Jesus or of his works, or which contain merely the mention of his name, were likewise omitted, as in the tract *Sanhedrin* (43a) the entire following passage[200a]:

But it is taught that on the eve of Passover Jesus was hung, and forty days before this the proclamation was made: "Jesus is to be stoned to death because he has practiced sorcery and has lured the people to idolatry. Whoever, now, has anything to say in his favor, come and testify for him." But as no one had found anything in his favor, he was hung on the eve of Passover. Concerning this story R. Ula asked: "Do you mean that an excuse could have been found for him? He was an enticer to idolatry, and of such the Bible says, 'Thou shalt not pity or condone.'" But it was different in the case of Jesus, for he was a favorite of the royal power.

The rabbis taught: Jesus had five disciples, *Mat'ai*, *Nᵉḳai*, *Nēṣer*, *Būni*, and *Tōdhāh*. As *Mat'ai* was brought before the judges, he said to them: "Surely *Mat'ai* is not to be put to death? For the Bible says, 'I, *Mat'ai*,[201] shall see the face of God.'" Then they answered him: "Not so; *Mat'ai* shall die, for it is written, '*Mat'ai* shall die and his name perish.'"[202] Then they brought *Nᵉḳai*; he said, "Is *Nᵉḳai* to be put to death? For it is written, 'And thou shalt not kill *Nᵉḳai*[203] and the righteous.'" "Not so; *Nᵉḳai* shall die. For it is written, 'In secret he shall

[200] Rabbinowicz: *Maʾamar*, 68 and 69, note.

[200a] Illustrations, unless otherwise referred, have been found with the aid of Rabbinowicz, *Maʾamar*, 65–70, and the *Ḥesrōnōth Ha-shas*, Cracow, 1894.

[201] A play on the word *Māthai*, in Ps. 42 : 3, "When shall I see the face of God?" The conjunction "when" and the name "Matthew" may be expressed by the same consonants, and the verse be read either way.

[202] Psalm 41 : 6, "When will he die and his name perish?"

[203] A play on *nāḳī*, in Ex. 23 : 7, "Thou shalt not kill the innocent (*nāḳi*) and the righteous."

kill *Nᵉḳai.*'"[204] They brought *Nēṣer*; he said, "Is *Nēṣer* to be put to death? For it is written, '*Nēṣer* shall sprout forth from his roots.'"[205] They answered him: "Not so; *Nēṣer* shall die, for it is written, 'Thou shalt be cast out of thy grave like the discarded *Nēṣer*.'"[206] They brought *Būnī*; he said, "Shall *Būnī* be put to death? Is it not written, '*Būnī*, my first born, is Israel'?"[207] They answered him: "Not so; *Būnī* shall die, for it is written, 'Lo! I shall kill thy *Būnī*, thy first born.'"[208] They brought *Tôdhāh*; he asked, "Shall *Tôdhāh* die? Is it not written, 'A song of praise be to *Tôdhāh*?'"[209] They answered: "Not so; *Tôdhāh* shall die, for it is written, 'Whoso slaughtereth *Tôdhāh* honors me.'"[210]

Similarly mention of Rome or of Edom, which the Jews used constantly in reference to Rome, was not tolerated at all, even when the reference was to the pre-Christian empire[211]; *e.g.*, the following passage, from *Pᵉsāḥīm*, 87 b, was entirely omitted:

This also an unbeliever said to Rabbi Ḥanina: "We are better than you, for concerning you it is written, 'Six months (Joab) stayed there (and then he destroyed all the men in Edom).'[212] You, on the other hand, have dwelt with us many years, and we have not yet done you any harm." . . . . Rabbi Isaiah answered: "That is only because you do not know how to effect such a result; for you cannot kill all, since all do not live in your land, and should you destroy such as do live with you, you would be called a murderous empire." Thereupon the heretic answered: "By Jupiter's temple in Rome! In the one case we rise, in the other we fall!"

Other passages were omitted because they provide for a different interpretation of the law in the case of Jew and non-Jew; as one of nearly a hundred words referring to the disposition of found articles which belong to Jews on the one hand, to Gentiles on the other (*Bābhā Ḳammā*, 113 b).

On the ground of impiety, many anthropomorphic expressions were omitted, as (*Taʾᵃnīth*, 29 a) "And God made a noise over them like the crowing of cocks"; and (*Sanhedrin*, 56 b) "If anyone strike an Israelite on the cheek, it is as though he had struck the cheek of the Holy One."

Other omissions were made on the charge of offence to good morals.

It was not always that long passages, such as those instanced,

[204] Ps. 10: 8, "In secret places he killeth the innocent."
[205] Is. 11: 1, "A branch (*nēṣer*) shall sprout from his roots."
[206] Is. 14: 19, "like the discarded branch."
[207] Ex. 4: 22, "My son (*bᵉnī*), my first born, is Israel."
[208] Ex. 4: 23.
[209] Ps. 100: 1, "A psalm for thanksgiving (*Tôdhāh*)."
[210] Ps. 50: 23, "Whoso offereth thanksgiving sacrifices honoreth me."
[211] Lebrecht: *Kritische Lese*, 37.
[212] 1 Kings 11: 16.

were censored on these various charges, but often single words alone were omitted; these might be names, as "Jesus," "Rome," "Edom," or even "Javan" (Greece); or adjectives like "wicked," in the phrase "wicked kingdom," used of Rome. A betrayal of ignorance is seen in one such correction, where, in the expression "haters of Israel," the first word (*sōnᵉ'ē*) gave offence, though the two words were only a common euphemistic expression for the Jews themselves.

Often, in these cases, another method of correction was used in place of omission—substitution. The word *Talmud* itself, which was prohibited by the Trent Index, was replaced by "*Shishshāh sᵉdhārīm*" [215] (which appeared on the title-page), by *gᵉmārāh* (the "Completion" and commentary of the *mishnāh*) or by *limmūd* ("learning").

"Rome," "Edom," and "Javan" were often changed to "Babylon," "Persia," or "Aram," and for this reason the text was rendered in very many places unintelligible. The original of a pun in *Bᵉrākhōth* 62 b reads:

"A Roman (*'-d-m*) thrust Rabbi Eliezer away from a certain spot, when immediately a snake, which had been hiding there, bit the offender mortally. Then the Rabbi called out [citing Isaiah 43 : 4], "Therefore will I give men (*'-d-m*) in place of thee."

By substituting "Persian" for "Roman" (Edomite) in the beginning of the story, the Basle version becomes pointless.[216] *Gōi* ("nation," non-Jew, Christian) was generally replaced by "Kuthite" or "Kushite"; *mīn* ("heretic," "unbeliever"), by "Sadducee" or "Epicurean"; *mᵉ shummād* ("apostate") by *mumar* ("convert"); *kōmēr* (anon-Jewish "priest"), by *mᵉshāreth*, or *kōhēn laʿᵃbhōdhāh zārāh* ("minister," or "priest, of idolatry"); "haters" of Israel, by "the evil ones" of Israel.

Anthropomorphic expressions were sometimes softened; the original of a passage in *Bᵉrākhoth* 3a puts in the mouth of God the words: "Woe is me that I have destroyed my house and burnt my temple!" The Basle edition reads: "Woe to the children! because of their sins I have destroyed my house." So any expression which gave offence might be changed. "Let no one marry the daughter of an uncultured man," became "Let no

[215] In Aramaic *Shittā Sidhrē*, "six orders," from the six divisions into which the *Mishnāh* is divided. The term is abbreviated *sh"s(shas)*, and is often used to designate the Talmud.

[216] Lebrecht, 37.

man marry the daughter of an uncultured Jew" (*Pᵉsāḥīm*, 49 b). "Every man who does not enter into matrimony is not a man, because 'God created man and woman and then he named them man,'" was changed foolishly to "Every Jew who does not," etc., and thus another witticism was made pointless.

Finally, a third method of censorship practiced more frequently in the treatises printed last, is one unique in the whole history. It consisted of the addition of notes, generally marginal, contradicting the text, or explaining it from the Catholic standpoint. In *Pᵉsāḥīm* 56 a where the word *mīn* is retained unchanged, the marginal note is added: "Heretics: they are the Jews who have forsaken God and who say, 'What is the Almighty that we should worship him, and what shall we profit in turning to him.'" In *ʿEdiyyōth*, second chapter, *mishnāh* 10, occurs the declaration: "The punishment of the wicked in Gehennah lasts twelve months," to which the censor added in the margin: "But those who are utterly wicked, and idolaters, will be punished in Gehennah for ever." "The arrogant will not take part in the resurrection" (*Ābhōth*, IV, *mishnāh* 4) has the comment: "A figure of speech; in this way it is intended to magnify the punishment for pride; but, of course, even they will be there with the rest." To *Bābhā Mᵉṣīʿā* 24 a, "He that finds money in the synagogue or school house shall retain it for his own, for it would be impossible to decide who is the real owner," is added the caustic comment: "This is what your teachers teach; Christianity compels that Christians make public the finding of any article."

These few examples can give but a faint idea of the hopelessly mutilated condition of this Talmud text, the only one which Jews were to be allowed to read. During the course of the printing the Emperor Rudolph II had demanded of the Counselor of Basle that he forbid the continuation of the work, but was met with the reply that neither the universities nor the censor had any objections to its publication. Had his wish been granted, it is doubtful whether the loss would have been a great one; for nearly every edition printed since, has been based on that of Basle, and hardly even in the most recent has the corrupted text been restored to soundness. Therefore many a later scholar has voiced the disappointment which those who first received the licensed work felt, and even the theologians of

Basle confessed that the Talmud had suffered too much from censorship.[218]

Beside Marcus Marino of Brescia, the year 1578 added another censor, Dominico Irosolimitano,[219] to the list. With an appointment either in Ferrara, replacing Laurentius Franguellus, or in Venice, where he was later stationed,[220] he began a career in this capacity which extended over more than forty years. Oftener than the signature of any other expurgator in books of the XVI and early XVII centuries may his be read—or perhaps better, seen; the illegibility of his handwriting is exceptional. He was, of course, an apostate, and has been identified with another of the same name who was born, 1550, in Galilee, and who, after having taught Talmudics and studied medicine, was called as Court physician to Constantinople. He then became converted, taught Hebrew in the College of the Neophytes at Rome, and wrote the *Ma'yan Gannīm* ("Fountain of the Gardens") on the articles of Christian faith.[220a] Certain doubts [220b] have been expressed as to the identity of these two men, doubts well founded if the recorded date of the author's birth (1550) and the age at which he is supposed to have been converted (50) are correct. Irosolimitano, the censor, was best known later (1595–1598) in Mantua, and an account of his methods will be left for the history of that time.

In general, however, they were characterized by the same inadequacy which all censorship thus far had shown. Even the

[218] Reusch, I: 50. Froben was the printer of the edition, and a certain Simon Jud had agreed to take 1600 copies to sell in Poland. When they were ready for delivery Simon refused to accept them on the ground that not only was the printing poor and incorrect, but that the changes made were too violent. Froben went to Rome, and, not showing too warm an attachment to Judaism, was soon in favor with Pope Gregory XIII. Because of the latter's intercession, the Emperor and Duke Ferdinand were persuaded to force Simon Jud to make payment.

[219] His own signature seems almost invariably to be *Dominico Irosolimi*[no], with the penultimate syllable omitted. Very rarely he wrote a censor's notice in Hebrew: *ḥākartī w'ziḳḳakti ha-sēpher ha-zē k'rā'ūī, 'anī Dōmīnīḳo Yerūshalmi*, "I have examined and expurgated this book properly, I, Dominico Jerushalmi" (Berliner: *Gang*. 19); as a rule, however, the signature alone sufficed, and that in Latin; once, in 1612, I have found it in both Hebrew and Latin. The name, as spelled in the Mantuan letter of 1595, is Dominicus Hyerosolimitanus (Stern, p. 165); in *H. B.*, V: 125, Domenico Hierosolymitano. See plate III.

[220] See Appendix.

[220a] Wolf, I: 331; III: 210.

[220b] Bartolocci, II: 282, 283

revision of the Talmud, by a censor especially appointed for that one work and subjected to general criticism, in no way fulfilled its purpose. Much less value, then, could be expected in the work of those other correctors who were supposed, each in his time and territory, to supervise the whole of Jewish literature, and who were their own sole directors and judges. Even if, as a class, they had been most learned, yet could not one have read with the necessary care each work he corrected; and, in fact, they seem rather to have turned the pages hastily and blotted out such words or phrases as caught the eye and appeared, regardless of context, to be offensive. Different copies of the same work corrected, one by Geraldino, one by Franguellus, and one by Irosolimitano, or different copies corrected by any one of them at different times and places, show altogether different expurgations from one copy of the same work treated in turn by all of them.

To this fact temporal rulers, Archbishops, and even most local Inquisitors, if they were cognizant of it at all, were indifferent. The Jews themselves had come to welcome such an expurgation as a comparatively easy insurance against more serious restriction, and in yet a few years were ready to petition for it and pay for it. The Congregation of the Index and Gregory XIII (1572–1585) also, however, were now coming to a realization of its worthlessness. The one kindly act toward Jews during this pontificate was the passive toleration of their return to papal lands. This brought Jewish literature again to the active notice of Rome; and it could not be expected that a Pope who showed his eagerness to gain converts by readily adopting the plan of Andrea de Monte and forcing the Jews to listen each week to Christian sermons,[221] would be satisfied with an expurgation of books which opposed no real hindrance to the perseverance of Jews "in their perfidy."

CHAPTER VIII

HEBREW BOOKS IN THE INDICES—EXPURGATION EXTENDED—RULES ADOPTED BY THE CONGREGATION OF THE INDEX—EXPURGATION IN DISFAVOR—JEWS ORDERED TO EXPURGATE THEIR OWN BOOKS

Cardinal Gillaume Sirleto, in charge of the House of the Neophytes and the Vatican, urged as the solution of the difficulty

[221] Berliner, II: 17.

the compilation of an Index Expurgatorius; and in 1578 the Congregation of the Index brought together at Rome, perhaps in the House of the Neophytes, seven Hebrew scholars, who were, of course, for the most part, converts. Most prominent at the time was Marcus Marino of Brescia, who was deemed especially fit for the work, on account of the experience he had gained in censoring the Talmud,[222] and was recalled from Basle before that publication was completed.[223] A second censor was Paul Eustachius,[224] who, perhaps as late as 1556, as certain works seem to show, was still a pious Jew, Elia b. Menachem de Nola, but was converted under Pius V and became teacher in the House of the Catechumens and Neophytes.[224] The five others were apparently obscure converts: Matthia Acquario, Doctor Didacus Ahumada, Adamantius Eremita, Didacus Lopez, and Marco Fabiano Fioghi de Monte Savino; Robert Bellarmin was in charge of the work as judge.

A certain number of works was assigned to each censor, or to two of them together, in order that, after a careful reading, all obnoxious passages might be noted, translated into Latin or Italian, and explained with critical notes supporting the condemnation. Decision as to the validity of objections was to be given by Robert Bellarmin, with resource in case of doubt to the Master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace (Paul Contabili de Ferrara, 1573–1580, Sesto Fabri de Lucca, 1580–1583). The intention was to collect finally and index in one great work all the passages judged offensive, and to place a copy in the hands of the regularly appointed expurgator; his whole duty would consist then in the merely mechanical expurgation of such passages in any work brought before him as were contained in this authorized "Index Expurgatorius."

In the attempt to carry out this plan the convert censors were very careful and severe—more severe at times even than Robert Bellarmin wished. They put words and expressions concerning Christians under the ban when no question of ritual or belief was

[222] *R. E. J.*, XXX : 257.

[223] The printing of the Talmud extended over 1578–1581, so that its censorship may not yet have been completed. Petrus Cavallerius was probably left in Basle to complete the work. Lebrecht: *Kritische Lese*, 43.

[224] Steinschneider (*M. G. W. J.*, XLII : 554) is not as thoroughly convinced of the identity of these two men as were Wolf (I : 769) and Berliner (II : 19, 193 and note); according to the latter, Paul Eustachius was active, both in censoring and in publishing, till at least 1600, and died, early in the XVII century, at the age of 60.

at issue; they tolerated no mention of the ancient grandeur of Israel, no reference to Jerusalem, to the temple, to the coming of the Messiah; they objected to every passage which savored at all of heresy, whether the error was against orthodox Christianity or against orthodox Judaism; and while the great philosophers were not attacked, all interpretations on Haggadic lines, to which papal bulls had frequently called attention as being fabulous or blasphemous, were severely treated; and for this reason, the Cabbala, which some time before, in the *Zōhar*, had been fostered by cardinal and monk, was now condemned.

It can well be imagined that this careful work progressed slowly; indeed, it dragged along so slowly that it seems never to have been far enough advanced to become of service. In five years (after 1583 or 1585 the work seems to have been stopped) but twenty-seven works were finished, and of these twenty were Bible commentaries. From this last fact a MS. copy of the incomplete Index (the only copy known) was excusably, if incorrectly, entitled "Censures against the Pentateuch."[225] It is not likely that, in its present form, it was even intended for use, for it contains many detailed arguments concerning the passages condemned, while the practical index gives merely an authoritative list of the passages, arranged under the title and specified pages of each work.

Another attempt at such a compilation was being made in the meanwhile at Cremona. The work left by R. Abraham Provençal in 1553 was used as a basis, and was revised and completed by a member of the Franciscan order, Hippolitus of Ferrara, later active as a censor. Though there is no evidence that this Index, either, was ever used, it is interesting to note the summary of contents which is described in its superscription, and which shows it to differ but little in principle from the similar work attempted by the Index Commission:

. . . Revised with much care by R. P. Frĕna Hippolitus of Ferrara, Franciscan; completed with much labor, freed with careful diligence from blasphemous errors, and done into Latin with a digest of the double Index, and humbly submitted at the feet of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, May 24, 1584, at Cremona. . . . In which work are contained many dangerous passages which are worthy of being noted, examined, and censored. Among them are many expositions of Sacred Scripture, such as are advanced by those who make use of certain ancient rabbis' Talmudic expressions, and of their false opinions and statements, through which they have attempted to

[225] *R. E. J.*, XXX: 257 ff.

spread with impious lips many blasphemies against the Most High God, and have made certain false statements in regard to the angels, the creation of the world, the Kingdom of the Romans and its princes, the Church, the Pope, bishops, elders, some of its ministers,—in short, against all those faithful to Christ.[225a]

Outside of Italy no separate provisions like these were attempted for Hebrew literature, but, Jews being treated as ordinary heretics and enemies of the Church, the regular Index sufficed. For this reason the Spanish Indices generally contained more specific notices of Hebrew books than did those of Italy, though the latter often incorporated additions from the former. In 1581 an Index was printed in Portugal,[226] an edition of the Trent Index with a supplement, and in this were forbidden the "Commentaries of R. Solomon and Chimi and Rabbi Hierosolymitano [227] to the Old Testament, both the Hebrew and the Latin translation of Conrad Pellican and Paul Fagius, heretics; in these works are contained things contrary to our faith, especially in regard to the Prophets." Interesting also is the prohibition of the "Commentary Zoar to Beresit," the portion on Genesis in the cabbalistic *Zohar*.[228]

The German Index which appeared in 1582, published by the papal Legate to Bavaria and Upper Germany, showed no changes from the Trent provisions in regard to Hebrew books. But in Spain the Inquisitor-General Quiroga published an important revised Index with a supplementary set of rules; of these no. 4 referred to Hebrew works, forbidding such as contained anything not only against the Catholic faith, but also differing in any way, in their interpretation of Scripture, from the accepted orthodox exposition of the original text. Nor must any be read which

[225a] *R. E. J.*, XXX : 257. The MS. from which this was taken is now in the Civil Library of Ferrara, and that it is not the original is seen from the remainder of the superscription : "Finally and faithfully transcribed from the original by Frẽ. Gabriel at Sta. M. Tecla, Arg. Discalcato, and written on the following pages with a reed, finished Sept. 23, 1672, at Ferrara."

[226] Reusch, I : 472.

[227] Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes (Rashi); David Ḳimḥi; concerning Hierosolymitano, Wolf, I : 699 : "an anonymous grammarian of the X century."

[228] See p. 44 ; of interest also is the name Lião Hebreo Abarbanel (Judah ben Isaac Abrabanel), whose "*Dialoghi d'amore*" were condemned because of "Jewish and Platonic Fables." This author, a physician, had become converted from Judaism. Another name is Amatus Lusitanus, a Portuguese Jew (Ḥabīb) converted as João Rodrigo de Castelbranco ; he was likewise a physician, consulted by Julius III, but fled from Paul IV and the Inquisition, and died in 1568 as a Jew in Salonica. Reusch, I : 488 ; Graetz, IX : 236, 363.

treat of Jewish faith or practices; such works, however, and certain Rabbinic writings may be allowed by special written permission from the Inquisitors, but in no way the Talmud, its glosses, commentaries, etc.; "the Targum, which is the Chaldaic paraphrase of the Bible," is not to be forbidden.[229]

Whatever may have been the utility of such Indices elsewhere, in Italy the efforts exerted were of no immediate service, and Gregory XIII in the meanwhile adopted other measures. He ordered the Jews to surrender all Talmudic and similar works, whether they had been previously censored or not; those in Rome were to comply within ten days, those in other places within three months. Inquisitors and others in charge of the work were warned to be strict in fulfilling their duty, and it was decreed that anyone who should be found with a forbidden book in his possession after the appointed time, should be severely punished (June 1, 1581).[230] The provision making punishment, before this only occasionally inflicted by the Inquisition, one of its regular and uniform duties, gave added assurance that the enforcement of this decree might be secured[231]; but before the appointed time a respite was gained by Abhtalion b. Mordecai da Modena, sent to Rome for the purpose by some of the Italian congregations. He had several audiences with the Pope, in one of which a two-hour discussion of the Talmud was held, and he was finally successful in his mission.[232]

Previous decrees, however, ordering expurgation, remained in force; and it was gradually introduced into non-papal Italian territory. Before February, 1582, this was done in Asti, near Alessandria (Savoy), apparently by the Inquisitor himself[233]; and though Boniforte del Asinari, an apostate expurgator who signed the books he revised both in Latin and Hebrew, was also there, the Inquisitor, Hier. Carolus (?), added his signature, or signed at times alone.[234] Expurgation, it is true, was a desirable alterna-

[229] Reusch, I : 496. In the body of the Index was included *Benjamini Cantabri Itenarium*, Benjamin of Tudela's *Journey to Palestine*, translated for a Spanish bishop by the Benedictine Arius Montanus (Antwerp, 1575). See also note 190, p. 55, for the general expurgation provisions of Quiroga.

[230] Berliner, II : 19, gives the date of this measure as July 1; Graetz, IX : 501, V. & R., II : 174, give it as June 1.

[231] V. & R., II : 174.

[232] V. & R., II : 176.

[233] Cp. p. 73.

[234] See Appendix, and plate V.

tive to prohibition and confiscation, and the Jews had come to welcome it as such. When, after Gregory XIII had died on April 10, 1585, a Pope was elected known to be of a more kindly nature (Sixtus V, May 1, 1585–1590), the Italian communities decided to make a united attempt at securing expurgation for all classes of Hebrew books—if, indeed, it might not be possible to gain entire religious and literary freedom. First, as a precautionary measure, the communities of Rome, Venice, Mantua, Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, and Padua, established a censorship of their own, to make effective the press supervision provided many years before.[235] This was entrusted to a commission composed of a rabbi and a delegate from each of the cities named, with power to examine all books before submitting them to the State or Church officials for approval.[237] Then a conference of Jewish representatives was called at Padua, to arrange plans for sending delegates to Rome; but though the Mantuan community granted the necessary money for the expenses of the delegate as early as May 21, 1585,[238] it was June 1 of the following year before the representatives of Mantua, Ferrara, Milan, and Piedmont decided to wait no longer but to take immediate action. Each community was to leave one representative at Cremona while the others went to Rome, in order that, in case of unexpectedly heavy expenses, of disagreement, or of other trouble, they might fall back on their companions, and be meanwhile in constant and simultaneous communication with their respective homes. For instance, Solomon Levi Ostiglia was to be Mantua's representative at Cremona, while Bezalel Masarini was to go to Rome. The latter was empowered to expend as much as 10,000 scudi (150,000 dollars ?), of which he was to take with him immediately 2000 scudi,[237] but no expenses were to be incurred except with the consent of all his associates (June 6, 1586).[239]

The success, at least temporary, of this Commission's endeavors is seen in the bull which Sixtus V issued October 22. It repealed all previous restrictions against the Jews, and allowed them to live openly in Italy and to keep their Hebrew books without fear as soon as they were expurgated according to the

[235] Cp. p. 38.
[237] V. & R., II: 179.
[238] Stern, 153 (No. 141).
[239] Stern, 154 (Nos. 142, 143, 144).

It was in the following clause, however, that interest centered:

The Talmud of the Hebrews, all its glosses, notes, interpretations, and expositions; but, if published without the name Talmud, and without anything injurious or insulting to Christianity, it shall be permitted.

This permission secured, there were still other difficulties awaiting the Jewish representatives. The Congregation of the Index desired to undertake the censorship itself this time, and for the benefit of those members who did not understand Hebrew, insisted on having the whole Talmud first translated into Latin. The Mantuan delegate, Benedetto da Segni, appealed to the Pope, and this difficulty was overcome by a brief authorizing the revision by those members of the Index Commission alone who understood Hebrew (June 22, 1590).

Then it was found that this Commission would have to be well paid for its labors, and an urgent call for more contributions was sent from Rome to Mantua (July 20). It met with the usual generous response, and Moses Cases and Bezalel Massarini were given a sum to send to Rome; they were also instructed to

likewise, everything erroneous, offensive to pious ears, audacious, scandalous, schismatic, seditious, blasphemous, harmful to the good name of others and especially of rulers, or contrary to the morals and the institutes of the Christian discipline; likewise all such as teach anything new concerning the sacred rites and ceremonies contrary to the received usage and custom of Holy Roman Church; also ambiguous and doubtful words, which might lead away the mind of readers from the proper and catholic idea to wicked opinions; also words of the sacred scripture which are taken from versions made by heretics and distorted to give a different sense from that laid down by the authority of the Fathers. Furthermore, the names of heretics must be erased (unless mentioned for the purpose of confuting them), and also any epithets applied to them for the purpose of praising them; new profane interpretations of well-known phrases, which heretics often use to deceive; all passages which teach sacrilege, superstitions, false interpretations of dreams, obscenities, and all similar passages by which men's minds are easily depraved. Likewise all passages which seem to ascribe necessity to the course of human affairs and teach that they are governed by fate, or fatal signs, or fortunes. Likewise all statements which tend to oppose or diminish ecclesiastical power, government, and freedom. In books of proverbs, saws, parables, etc., there must be eradicated all figures which might give offense to ecclesiastic rites, persons or dignity; there must also be removed all witticisms by which the dignity of others is affected, and all sarcastic words. Not only shall be expurgated books, but also marginal notes, obscene pictures, indices, letters, prefaces and everything which the book contains. Books of Catholics also, who live and die in the bosom of the catholic church, if they contain any trace of error, shall be subject to the correction prescribed in this index; nevertheless, they shall not be considered among the prohibited books, but only as having need of expurgation, lest by such prohibition their good name or dignity should be thereby disgraced."

go first to Piedmont and Milan, make collections there, and then go to Ferrara to do all in their power (Aug. 2).[248]

A few days after this (Aug. 7) the Cardinals of the Index Commission, under the presidency of Cardinal de la Rovere, held a joint session with seven Jewish representatives to decide upon the rules which should govern censorship. These representatives were R. Lazaro, R. Elia (a physician), R. Simeone da Riete, R. Isaac da Veterbo (a physician), R. Sanson Massarani and R. Samuel Benjamin. They agreed to the following rules:

Wherever in the Talmud writings there shall be found words used with blasphemous or evil intent, such as "goi," gentile; "Goved ghavoda zara" [*i. e.*, *'ōbhēdh 'ᵃbhōdhāh zārāh*], idolaters; "Nocri" [*nokhrī*], stranger; "Malcut harisgna" [*malkhūth hā-rish'āh*], unrighteous kingdom; "Ghorel" [*'ārēl*], uncircumcised; "Umot hagolam" [*'ummōth hā'ōlām*], nations of the world—they shall be so emended that every suspicion shall be removed, and that no such phrase can in future be understood as referring to Christians. Thus, there shall always be substituted, in accordance with the requirements of each passage, "Ngacum," "Ngoved cocavim umazalot" [*'akkūm*, abbreviation for *'ōbhēdh kōkhābhīm umazzālōth*[249]], worshipper of the stars and planets. Likewise "min," heretic, shall be replaced by Epicurei; "mesciumad" [*mᵉshummād*], destroyed, understood to mean one converted to another faith from Judaism, by "mumar," convert, or by "gavarian" [*'ābhᵉrīn*?], transgressor ["praevaricatus"].[250]

After the adoption of these rules the Index Commission delegated its revision powers in the case of the Talmud to seven Hebrew scholars, divided into two classes; the first consisted of three "doctors" and a neophyte: Abas Adrianus Cyprianus, Antonius Beatinus, and Bartolomeus Valuensius Hispanus. The neophyte was Joannes Paul Eustachius, who had gained much experience in this kind of work from his labors on the uncompleted Index of Expurgation begun in 1578. In the second class were two "Magisteri," Joannes Baptista de Plombino and Thomas de Terracina, with Simon Petrus Victorius as neophyte member.[251]

As soon as this committee had been appointed, word was sent to Ferrara, where the Mantuan delegates had now arrived. All was enthusiasm there, and it was decided that the success of the

[248] Stern, 157, 158 (Nos. 150, 151).

[249] This correction was made already in a copy of the *Sēpher 'Issūr Wᵉhetter* censored in 1589, alternating with the correction *Kūthī*; it may have been made, however, after the book had been signed, and after the agreement of this joint conference.

[250] Stern, 158 (No. 152).

[251] Stern, 160 (No. 154).

enterprise should not be allowed to remain in doubt because of lack of money; in every community of Italy organized collections should be started, and every possessor of 100 scudi or more should contribute 4 per cent of his wealth; whoever refused should be put under the united ban of the Rabbis (Aug. 10, 1590).[252] With all their eagerness and earnestness, however, they could not accomplish their task in time; for the friendly Sixtus V died on Aug. 27, and Urban VII having also died a month later and before his consecration, Gregory XIV was elected on Dec. 12.

In him the Jews found no aid against the enmity of the Inquisition and the rest of the Roman court, where the thorough revision of the Talmud was found more and more difficult, more and more impossible; it came to be looked upon as a ridiculous undertaking, and was soon given up.[252a] Moreover, expurgation by censors and inquisitors generally was falling into disfavor; the very fact that appeals were coming to the Inquisition from Jews in many places,[253] asking for the appointment of such censors, was suspicious. And such suspicions were confirmed by direct charges brought against the work of those previously appointed or approved by Rome. Against Jacob Geraldino it was said that in his work he had favored the Talmud and had always been in collusion with the Jews against Christ and the vicar of Christ; against Andrea de Monte it was said that the Jews had merely caused him to share Geraldino's censorship to aid them in their deceptions.[254]

If there was any need of influence to bring Rome to such a conclusion, complaints like these convinced the Holy Office that expurgation as practised was not only useless but injurious; censors were bringing church methods into disrepute, while it was realized that none of them could so thoroughly perform their task that the books they signed would not continue to be filled with "error and blasphemy." The decision was therefore reached that no Christian should in the future be allowed to undertake

[252] Stern, 159 (No. 153).

[252a] From a letter to the Nuncio at Savoy, June 15, 1591. Stern, 171 (No. 7).

[253] Stern, 173 (No. 14).

[254] Stern, 161 (No. 155). The document is in the "Biblioteca Brancacciana," Naples; it is undated and unsigned, but Stern assigns it to "around 1590." If it belongs as late as this, the entire absence of any reference to censorship other than that of Geraldino and Andrea de Monti seems strange.

censorship; Jews should expurgate their own books, and then, if at any time one should be found not properly corrected, its owner should be severely punished.[255]

When it became known, then, that in Piedmont-Savoy the Inquisitor of Turin had undertaken expurgation, he was sharply reprimanded and informed of the decision just mentioned (April 13, 1591).[256] The Inquisitor of Asti, who had, it seems, requested that even the Talmud be permitted when expurgated, was next warned not to show any favoritism to the Jews or to neglect his duties (June 15, 1591); and finally the Nuncio in Savoy was ordered to make known to all of the Inquisitors of the state the attitude of the central office, and its desire to have the Talmud and other forbidden works burned (Aug. 17, 1591).[257]

To hold the Jews themselves responsible for the correction of their books, and liable to punishment at any time, was in reality the only effective method of censorship. But to enforce such a plan required the co-operation of the local officers in each city, and neither Inquisitors nor Revisors were willing to obey; in the case of the latter, at least, this can be easily understood, since the Jews were accustomed to pay for their services. Whether for this reason, or because "apostates" were not included in the term "Christians," or merely because the publication of the orders mentioned above was as yet confined to Piedmont, the signatures of Luigi da Bologna,[258] dated 1591, and of Dominico Irosolimitano,[259] dated 1592, are evidence that expurgation elsewhere continued during the pontificates both of Gregory, and of Clement VIII (Jan. 30, 1592–1605),[260] who made the same ruling. In Piedmont, however, for a while at least, the stricter measures were carried out. On Feb. 15, 1592, the Inquisitor of Vercelli (in Piedmont) was called upon to enforce the decree against the Talmud and similar writings, and by April 4th the Nuncio had satisfied Rome that the auto-da-fé had taken

[255] Stern, 170 (No. 5). Money collected as fines in these and similar cases was devoted to the House of the Catechumens. Berliner, *Gesch.*, II: 25.

[256] Stern, 171 (No. 7). *R. E. J.*, 30: 278, dates a communication on this subject to the same Nuncio as early as Jan. 11 of this year.

[257] Stern, 172 (No. 8).

[258] See Appendix.

[259] See Appendix.

[260] Gregory died Oct. 15, 1591, and his immediate successor, Innocent IX, also died within two months.

place.[261] The next communication to this Nuncio showed the increasing severity of the Pope; it notified him that the proper expurgation of Hebrew books having been proved impossible, the Jews were to be deprived of all except the Bible; and while they should not be molested because of reading mere grammatical works, even in the case of these no express permission should be given for their retention (Sept. 5). The same notice was sent to the Inquisitor of Turin, and repeated to the Nuncio (Sept. 12).[262]

The efforts against the Jews in Piedmont were not long confined to that territory; on February 25, 1593, an edict forbidding them to dwell anywhere in papal territory except in Rome, Ancona, and Avignon was issued, and three days later the old edict against Hebrew books was re-enacted. It was ordered that in Rome all books containing offensive references or heresies must be surrendered within ten days, in other places within two months; they were then to be burnt, while excommunication and confiscation of property were to be the punishment for possessing them, or helping others to possess them by printing, copying, sale, or gift. Nor was this order to be set aside on the ground that a book had already been expurgated or was about to be expurgated, that it had been printed with the title changed, that the publication had been permitted by, or known to, the Secretary or any member of the Council of Trent, that it conformed to the Index of Pius IV, or that permission to possess it had been granted by a Cardinal, a Legate, a Nuncio, a Bishop, or an Inquisitor.[263]

[261] Stern, 172 (No. 8).

[262] Stern, 173 (No. 10).

[263] Reusch, I: 49; Graetz, IX: 501 ff; V. & R., II: 187; Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 8, *Geschichte*, II: 24. There seems to have been some confusion as to the date of this bull. Berliner and Mortara, following Card. Albizzi, *De Inconstantia in fide*, cap. 30, No. 310, give 1592. Several later decrees referring to this bull (that of Apr. 17, 1593, Stern, 163; of Aug. 24, 1596, Stern, 166; the Index of 1596, Reusch, 506)—likewise cite it as of 1592, but with one exception (copy in Rome of the edict of Aug. 24, 1596) also add "second year of the pontificate" of Clement VIII; this would be 1593 (see note 260), which is given in the Mantuan copy of the decree of Aug. 24, 1596, and is accepted by Stern (who corrects the date in each of the edicts cited), and by V. & R., *R. E. J.*, Graetz, and Reusch, (I: 603, a note correcting his text reading of 1592, p. 49). 1593, at any rate, seems the date demanded, since, in the edict of April 17, 1593, it is said that the Jews had asked for an extension of the time (ten days) allotted them—a rather curious request if more than a year had already elapsed.

The apparent purpose of this decree was the absolute prohibition, under all circumstances, of any book which contained objectionable matter, and it was often thus interpreted in later times. The Jews, however, seem to have understood that while the prohibition applied absolutely to certain books of this kind, it applied to certain others only in case that, even if expurgated before, they should not be again expurgated within two months. They promptly petitioned the Pope for an extension of this period, and the answer, given in a brief on April 17, 1593, shows either that this was the original intention of the measure, or that something had occurred which had induced the Pope to accept it as such. For though the new brief repeated almost literally the previous prohibition of "books containing blasphemies," etc., even under the pretext that they had been, or were about to be, expurgated,[264] it extended till the end of May the period within which the Jews might "expurgate books of this description according to our mandate, and thus be allowed to use them when so expurgated."[265] Perhaps a realization of inconsistency in his own measures is betrayed by Clement in the emphatic declaration which closed the brief, that no letters already published should interfere with this new privilege; but in one regard he (or the Inquisition) remained as yet consistent; the rule was again enunciated that only Jews should expurgate Hebrew books.[266] Following this edict came another milder measure, which showed something of the same inconsistency by modifying the order of February 25, and permitting Jews to conduct their business in all the papal states, provided they did not take up a permanent residence in any other than the cities mentioned.[267]

The enforcement of these orders proceeded with various degrees of severity in different places. At the expiration of the time limit in Rome the surrendered books were given to Carl Borromeo, whose severity has already been mentioned; he kept

[264] " . . . etiam sub prætextu quod expurgata fuerint vel donec expurgentur."

[265] " . . . Cumque universitas Hebræorum . . . nobis exponi fecerint, ipsos Judeaos non posse tam brevi temporis spatio libros, volumina et scripta hujusmodi juxta mandatum nostrum corrigere et expurgare ad effectum, ut sic expurgatis uti possint, et alios, ut praefertur, consignare et exhibere . . ." Stern, 163 (No. 156).

[266] Stern, 173 (No. 14).

[267] Stern, 164 (No. 157).

them for many years before he gave his decision.[268] In Avignon, too, the Archbishop was now strict, and wrote to the notary Jehan-Alby in regard to the Jews of Bédarredes and its neighborhood. They had been left in peace despite the bulls of Paul IV and Pius V, but now the Archbishop (François-Marie Tarusius) ordered all their books and writings to be seized and examined. As a result, several Jews were thrown into prison.[269] In Ancona, on the other hand, the Jews asked for a censor, but were ordered to expurgate their books themselves.[270]

In non-papal territory no hesitation was evidenced in the appointment of censors. The Duke of Tuscany not only allowed the Jews to dwell permanently in Pisa and Livorno, but he allowed them books of all kinds, even the Talmud, censored properly in accordance with the rules of Sixtus V applied by a regularly appointed commission (June–July, 1593). For this the Jews as in other places were required to pay a certain amount.[271] The signatures of Dominico Irosolimitano, 1594 (perhaps in Venice),[272] of Hippolite of Ferrara,[273] 1593, 1594 (perhaps in Cremona),[274] and of Alessandro Scipio, 1594 (probably in Mantua),[275] testify to activity elsewhere. In the last-named state, when the renewed trouble began, the Duke, Vincenza Gonzaga, had ordered that while the Jews of the city of Mantua and its neighborhood might retain certain books, they should send all which contained anything wrong or offensive out of his territory; he himself was to give the decision in each case, and any one who disobeyed was to be severely punished.[276] When Clement's bull reached Mantua, however, the Bishop, Franciscus Gonzaga, decided to enforce it immediately, but the Jews had already received from Rome a copy of the later brief granting delay; and it was 1595 before decided action was taken there.

[268] Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 59.

[269] *R. E. J.*, 29 : 254.

[270] *R. E. J.*, 30 : 278.

[271] Graetz, IX., 507 : *H. B.*, V : 76.

[272] See Appendix.

[273] The name is always abbreviated *Fr. Hipp*ti (sometimes followed by *Ferr*is and *ord. min.*); Steinschneider in *H. B.*, V : 125, filled out the name as *Hipponus;* the Index which the censor compiled in Cremona, 1584, gives the correct reading.

[274] See Appendix.

[275] See Appendix.

[276] *H. B.*, V : 76.

CHAPTER IX

MANTUAN COMMISSION AND THE *SEPHER HA-ZIḲḲUḲ*—CENSORSHIP METHODS IN GENERAL

On Saturday, August 27, of the year 1595, despite the papal ruling that books should be expurgated by the Jews, the Bishop appointed a regular censorship commission of three apostates; one, Alessandro Scipio, had before worked in Mantua; the other two, Laurentius Franguellus and Dominico Irosolimitano, had formerly been in Ferrara and Venice respectively. In case of indecision they were to be guided by the Inquisitor and the head of the Minor (*i. e.*, Franciscan) Order. They established themselves for this work in the building of the Inquisition, and on August 30 censored the first book.[277] Two months was the time within which the correction was to be completed; the Jews therefore soon crowded to the building in great numbers, bringing their books with them, and carrying them away again as soon as expurgated. The censors worked industriously, but the room was always a crowded confusion of books and their waiting owners; it soon became evident that, through no fault of the Jews, the work would not be completed within the required time. Therefore, and to lessen the confusion, the censors ordered that all books should be left in the building of the Inquisition within the course of a month, each owner receiving a receipt; in this way all the Jews would be freed from the penalty of having uncensored books in their possession after the time had elapsed, and the censors could work leisurely and systematically. At least 425 receipts, signed by Dominico Irosolimitano, were thus issued for all classes of books, among them several for whole libraries[278]; and the magnitude of the commission's labors, which extended over the years 1595, 1596, and 1597,[279] can still be estimated from the traces left not only in very many manuscripts of the Ambrosiana (Milan) and other Italian libraries,[280] but in books of nearly every collection outside of Italy also.[281]

For all this labor the censors expected to be well paid, and on

[277] Stern, 165 (No. 158).
[278] *H. B.*, V : 76.
[279] See Appendix.
[280] Berliner : *Ein Gang durch die Bibliotheken Italiens*, 18 ff.
[281] Italy was naturally the market for Hebrew books; cp. Graetz, IX : 508.

October 9 they came to an agreement on this point with Moses Cases and Solomon Levi, representing the community: for expurgating as many Hebrew books and manuscripts as might be brought to them from Mantua and its neighborhood, and for inscribing in each such work "Per fede della espurgne. di este libri" they were to receive 400 scudi, or 133⅓ scudi each—quite a large sum compared with that received by Scipio several years before.[291a]

Irosolimitano was probably at the head of the commission; as has been noted, he issued the receipts for books entrusted to it, and when these had been censored and signed by any of his associates he generally added his own name. His signature was, however, valid without the endorsement of the others,[294] and is seen more frequently; that of Laurentius Franguellus is very rarely seen dated in this period, and since no trace of him is found after 1596,[292] it seems likely that before the work was finished he had ceased to be a member of the commission. To fill the vacancy another censor, who had been active between 1591 and 1596, Fra Luigi da Bologna, was apparently appointed before October, 1597.[293]

The signatures of all the censors were generally written at the bottom of the last page or next to the last page and very seldom in the beginning of a censored book; this was the practice of other censors also, excepting of Geraldino.[295] The distinct handwriting of Scipio, Franguellus, and Luigi da Bologna contrasts markedly with the large, almost unreadable, scrawl, *Do mi ni co I*

[291a] *H. B.*, V: 76.

[292] See Appendix.

[293] See Appendix.

[294] Fifteen books and ten MSS. which, from their dates, can be almost positively assigned to this commission are signed as follows: ten by Dominico Irosolimitano alone; four by him and Scipio; four by him and Luigi da Bologna; seven by only one of these censors. None were signed by both Scipio and da Bologna. In addition to these, many which have the signatures undated (over thirty) and which almost certainly, because of the association of names, can be likewise assigned to this commission, show the same phenomena. (These figures are from Columbia and the Bodleian.)

[295] Carolus and Boniforte del Asinari also, but perhaps because the last page was already taken up with other inscriptions. In a copy of Nachman's *Pērūsh ha-Tōrāh* Naples, 1490, Geraldino's signature is on the title-page; but in the margins at the sides and bottom, and between the two columns of the last page, are crowded those of Durallano, Franguellus, Renatus da Modena, Irosolimitano, and Jagel. My own copy, however, of the *Mᵉ'ōr ʿĒnāyīm*, Mantua, 1574, has *Irosolimitano* on the title-page.

מאמר שמיני לה

EXPURGATED PAGE OF GERSHON BEN SOLOMON'S SĒPHER SHA'AR HA-SHĀMAYĪM, VENICE, 1547.
(IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.)

ro so li mi ^{no}, which name is found occasionally in Hebrew characters also.[296] The formula agreed upon in 1595 was evidently not used; the chief censor often omitted even a date, while the others signed as follows: *Revisto per mi Fra luigi da Bologna converso* (or *della ordine*) *da S'Dom* ^{co}, followed by the year, sometimes abbreviated ('97), and sometimes with the month; *Alessa* ^{no} *Scipione Revedor*, with the year and sometimes the month.[297]

No class of books was exempted from examination, and no attention was paid to the fact that some already contained an *imprimatur* (*con licentia dei Superiori*) or the signatures of Geraldino, (1555) and Franguellus (1575). Expurgation itself was effected by the use generally of a yellowish-brown ink, though sometimes the color was black.[298] That the ink was applied with a fine brush seems apparent from the fact that a single stroke was generally sufficient to cover a word to the full height of the letter; where the type used was especially large, more than one stroke was necessary, which was always the case when a pen was used instead of a brush. Even where half a column was to be censored each line or each separate word was blotted out by a horizontal stroke. When some of the later censors became more careless a few vertical lines were drawn across the passage[299]; on the other hand there are a few cases in which the expurgation was apparently done with a large brush, and an entire half-page appears as one blot of color.[300] For lengthier passages another method adopted occasionally was the tearing out of entire pages,[301] or the cutting off of a portion of the page, but methods other than the blotting out with ink were rarely used. Actual erasure was too tedious, but a copy of the *'ºķēdhath Yiṣḥaķ*[302] has the phrase "tumult of Rome" so treated.[304] Still

[296] Boniforte del Asinari also. See plate III, no. 1, and plate V, no. 4.

[297] Some of the other censors wrote somewhat lengthier inscriptions. See plates IV. and V.

[298] Some one has noted the similarity in the color of the censors' marks and that of the distinctly Jewish headgear prescribed. Irosolimitano censored with black ink several passages in a copy of the *'Iķķārīm*.

[299] As the last 21 lines in chapter XI. of a MS. copy of *Shibbôleth shel Lēķeṭ*.

[300] Nearly the whole of page 11 in a *Maḥzor* (unsigned) has been thus treated; similarly 18 lines on p. 35 of *Sēpher Sha'ar ha-shāmayim* in Columbia; it is signed by Carretto and Vincentius Matelica [?] See plate II.

[301] In the *'Iķķārīm*. See p. 85.

[302] See p. 54, note 185.

[304] See p. 87.

one other method was the pasting of paper (printed, so that the censored portions could not be restored) tightly over the obnoxious words.[305]

The efficiency of any method of expurgation is doubtful. Under all circumstances, as the Jews reminded each other when they urged the strict censorship of their own works, the words in question would always be known to the teacher and could always be taught orally to his pupils. This was not the only method, however, by which expurgation was rendered useless. Very often the ink, as soon as dry, allowed the black letters underneath to be read without trouble, as in many passages in the *ʿᵃḳēdhath Yiṣḥaḳ* which will be described later in detail. Where this was not possible, the expurgated words or passages were re-written on the margin, or even between the lines and above the censored portions. In the book just mentioned the word *ʾummōth* was crossed out by the censor, and *ʿōbhʿdhē ʿa″z* ("worshippers of the stars and planets") substituted; the whole was at a later time crossed out, and the original word restored in its proper place. Such restorations, of course, were easily made where books had been revised before being printed and blank spaces had been left. Nor was it a very difficult matter to erase the censored portions of the text so as to leave a blank space for its restoration—as was done in a copy of the *Midhrash Tʿhillīm* with words like "in Edom" (Rome) on several pages. Paper was also, at times, pasted over the text and the original re-written, a method which served when the ink had been so thickly applied as to eat through the page; where pages had been torn out, as in the *ʿIḳḳārīm*, they were replaced in MS. Most common of all, however, was the washing away of the censor's ink when it had not been too heavily applied, as was done in many passages of the *ʿᵃḳēdhath Yiṣḥāḳ*; and the nature of the ink makes it possible to-day yet to scrape sufficient away to make the text readable. The greater part of the commission's work, then, had not been long completed when it was made useless; but in proportion as this was done, the Jews rendered themselves liable to still greater annoyances; it needed only a zealous inquisitor and spying apostates to institute a new revision.

[305] A most marked example of this is found in the Latin text of my own copy of Walton's Polyglot Bible, in which the lower half of page 9 and the upper half of page 10 of the introduction are covered by portions of a closely printed ecclesiastical Spanish document.

Of greater interest than methods of expurgation is the subject-matter expurgated. The best account of this can be obtained from the Hebrew notes left by the censors themselves, which were later put together and worked over to form "Indices of Expurgation." In the Vallicelliani Library at Rome (MS. 45) is a manuscript composed of separate notes by Laurentius Franguellus. The first portion is an index of the expurgated parts of certain Hebrew books; the second contains a list of the passages to be expurgated from the *Yalḳūṭ*[306]; the third, another index with the list of works mentioned in it; the fourth, in a later hand, contains a list of the passages to be emended from the "Fountain of Life," (*Mᶜḳōr Ḥayyīm*), from the "Generations of Isaac" (*Tōlᵉdhōth Yiṣḥāḳ*), and from certain prayers and rabbinical works. In the MS. are included notes on certain books, by means of which the author wished to show the truth of the Transfiguration, of Christ's divinity, etc.; but in the portions treating of expurgation it has the nature of the real index,—lists of words to be erased without any reason assigned therefor. Some expressions are interdicted which were allowed by the decree of the Congregation of the Index, 1590; in this it agrees with the work of the Mantuan Commission; and it is probable that parts of it were written while the author was a member of that Commission because of the expurgation prescribed for the *Mᶜbaḳḳesh ʾᵃdhōnāi*, by Samuel b. Jacob Ḥāgīz, published in 1596 (Venice). As this index was probably never used by any but Franguellus himself,[307] the more comprehensive work of Irosolimitano is of greater importance.

This is called by its Hebrew title, *Sēpher ha-ziḳḳūḳ*,[308] "Book of Expurgation," and the four manuscript copies[309] of it which are known, differ only as various editions of the same work. It was begun in 1594 by an anonymous Capuchin neophyte, but is in greater part the work of Irosolimitano, whose name is mentioned

[306] Simon Darshan's "Collection" of midrastic expositions of the Bible.

[307] *R. E. J.*, 30: 271 ff; see p. 85 ff.

[308] All extracts from this work cited in the following pages are from M. Mortara's article, *H. B.*, V, 96 ff.

[309] Reusch, II: 876, has the following note: "Bern. a Bononia, Biblioth. scriptorum Capuc., Ven. 1747, verzeichnet unter Anonymus sextus Italus: Librorum hebraicorum liber expurgatorius, in quo supra 480 Hebræorum libri ab erroribus et imprecationibus contra Christianos expurgantur, Mantuæ, 1696; als handschriftlich in der Vatican. und Barberin. Bibliothek befindlich." If this refers to a printed edition of the *ziḳḳūḳ*, it is the only such notice which I have found.

in each of the copies. One of these is entirely in his handwriting, was finished by him on August 8, 1596, and given to the Cardinal of Cremona (then Commissioner of the Holy Office).[310] A second copy, begun as early as 1594, contains various handwritings, but has corrections and an index by Irosolimitano.[311] The third differs from these two in the introduction and the order of the works, and is more comprehensive, in that it contains additions by the same censor as late as 1619.[312] The fourth, probably originally copied from the one last mentioned, has the same prefatory inscription, but contains further additions by Renatos of Modena, and is dedicated to the Duke of Urbino.[313]

Like indices in general the *Sēpher ha-ziḳḳūḳ* is prefaced by a number of rules, serving both as an introduction and as a guide in the expurgation of works not included in the catalogue. As in the rules laid down by Franguellus, those of the College of Cardinals (1590) are not followed closely; these later rules are more comprehensive, differ in details, and even at times allow the censor to take into consideration not merely the words of a passage, but its meaning.

Some of these rules are as follows:

1. The word "idolatry" (*ʿᵃbhōdhāh zārāh*), whenever it occurs without the definite statement that it refers to a form of idolatry practised in ancient times, shall be replaced by the phrase "worshippers of the stars and planets" (*ʿōbhᵉdhē khōkhābhīm umazzālōth*, abbreviated *ʿakkūm*); but where the statement is made that this word refers to a form of idolatry which existed before the coming of Our Lord, no fault shall be found with it.

2. Under similar conditions the word "idols" (*ṣᵉlāmīm*) shall be replaced by the phrase "objects belonging to worshippers of the stars and planets" (*shelʿakkūm*).

3. Similarly the word "forms" (*ṣūrōth*) used in regard to idolatry shall be replaced by *shelʿakkūm*.

4. Whenever the word "gentile" or "gentiles" (*gōi* or *gōyīm*) is used conveying the idea of shame, reproach, or insult, it shall be expurged, and replaced by *ʿakkūm*.

5. But if such a word refers to the gentile merely in relation to any of the Jewish

[310] Description of these MSS. from Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, p. 9. Cp. *Cataloghi dei Codici Orientali di alcune Biblioteche d' Italia* (Firenze, 1878), pp. 365–370. In the petition of the Jews of 1731 (*Censur u. Confis.*, 21), the later use is mentioned. It is now No. 273 of the Vatican Library.

[311] Now in the Library of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, Paris, formerly belonging to M. Mortara of Mantua.

[312] In the library of Cardinal Berberini, Rome.

[313] In Bologna. Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 58; *R. E. J.*, 30: 260.; *H. B.*, V: 98.

laws,—e. g., "the laws regarding the Sabbath, forbidden food, wine which a gentile has touched,"—there is then no wrong in its use.

6. But nevertheless, there must be no mention of idolatry in connection with such a word, such as "the idolatrous thought of a gentile," "a gentile who offers a libation to idols," and similar expressions; such words must be entirely effaced.

7. The words *mīn* and *mīnīm* ("heretics," "pagans," or "Christians") must be entirely obliterated.

8. The word "apostate" (*mᵉshummād*), when it is not used insultingly, shall be effaced and *ʿakkūm* written in its place.

9. The word "people" or "peoples" (*ʾummāh* and *ʾummōth*) shall be replaced by *ʿakkūm*.

10. But if this word is intended to refer in general to all peoples existing in the world to-day, or if it is understood as referring to our people, of this age, then the whole phrase shall be entirely effaced: it is too wicked in its import to be replaced even by *ʿakkūm*.

11. Whenever the people of Israel is praised in such a way that it is understood to-day as casting a slur upon us, the whole passage in question must be effaced.

12. Every expression derogatory to uncircumcision must refer distinctly to past time; so the phrase "uncircumcision is to be despised" must be amended to read "uncircumcision was to be despised."

13. Every passage referring to the Messianic hope, which claims that the Messiah is yet to come or yet to be, or any similar idea, must be entirely effaced.

14. Every passage which speaks of two Messiahs, or which in explanation refers to a Messiah of the house of Joseph, or a Messiah of the house of Ephriam, shall be entirely obliterated.

15. If in referring to any passage of the Bible which our faith interprets more correctly, or differently, than their faith, they point out such a difference by urging some objection to our view, or by advancing proof of their own, the whole passage must be effaced; and this rule shall hold even if in such a commentary the names of Christian or of their own teachers be not mentioned.

16. But if the commentary simply explains the idea according to their faith, and they urge no objection to our views, no fault can be found.

17. Every passage which mentions any of the principles of their faith which are opposed to any of those of our faith, *e. g.*, "The Law is eternal," shall be effaced.

18. Every passage which opposes any of the rules, laws, or practices of our faith or teachings, or which contains anything derogatory to a king, a prince, or any of the church officers who govern our people, shall be effaced.

The differences between these rules and those laid down by the Cardinals are not striking. Rule 7, *e. g.*, does not allow anything to be written in place of *mīn* ("heretic" or "pagan"), while the Index Commission ordered "Epicurean" to be substituted. Rule 8 of the *Sēpher hā-ziḳḳūḳ* replaces *mᵉshummād* ("apostate") with *ʿākkūm*, instead of with the more appropriate *mūmār* or *ʿābhrīn* ("converts") of the Cardinals; rule 10 provides for certain cases in which no word may be substituted for *ʾummāh* ("people"). The provisions of rules 11, 13–18 concerning the differences in Christian and Jewish philosophy, law, etc., are not mentioned in

the Index of 1590; nevertheless there is nothing new contained in them, for all were observed by the censor of the Basle Talmud.

Following these general rules the body of the Index is composed of a list of the exact passages which are to be expurgated in each of 336 works (480 if different parts of the same work are counted separately). The page of the book to be censored is mentioned, and then the first and last words of each offensive passage; *e. g.*,

MŌREH NᴱBHŪKHĪM.

At the beginning of the introduction, in the introduction to Chapter I, "And I this day have begotten thee" should be obliterated.

Page 3, Side b. "He shall use" to "and the three" should be crossed out.

Page 9, S. a. "The wise men of Edom."

Page 31, S. b. From "this is the doctrine of the Christians" to the end should be effaced.

Page 53, S. b. "Doctrine of the Trinity" and "the Christians."

Page 54, S. a. There are many things here opposed to our faith, and there is need of further deliberation concerning them.

The brevity of such an index makes it almost unintelligible without the text of the work in question. The passage marked for expurgation in the *Mōrēh Nᵉbhūkhīm* (Maimonides' "Guide to the Perplexed"), page 31, side b, is:

"But whoever believes that He is one and that He yet has many attributes says 'He is one' with his lips and believes 'He is many' in his mind. *This is like the doctrine of the Christians, 'He is one, but He is three, and the three are one.'*"

For clearness the passages in the following examples will be added in square brackets, and the words to be expurgated will be printed in Italics.

Page 69, S. b. "And perchance such is the case with the Christians' thought" to the end—the whole is questionable and should be erased. And it is necessary to efface the passages in each of the commentaries to this text also.

["For the seeming necessity, in thought, of the truth of a thing, is no proof of the possibility of that thing in fact; *and perchance such is the case with the Christians' thought that the deity is a trinity, and with our own thought that He is a unity—neither need be true.*" Shem Tobh's commentary: "*And the meaning here is that they think it possible that God (may He be exalted) should have three attributes; and this is not true; but we think that He is one; for they think that it is possible,*" etc.]

Page 115, S. b. In the commentary of Shem Tobh: "And thou wilt understand" to "but"—the whole passage.

["And the meaning in this is that men of these classes dream a dream which comes true, or see when awake things which come true as though they dreamt them . . . and think that they are prophets. And thou wilt understand *to whom this refers. It*

refers to the apostles and disciples, and indicates that thou shalt not think that those phenomena which he mentions, of themselves make the prophet. And it should be known that such a one is not a prophet, but only thinks that he is a prophet and that he is doing those wonderful things by unusual and invisible means; and he thinks that therefore wisdom has come to him by other means than through study. Such was the case with the disciples; but how it was only true knowledge which came to them will be explained later."]

Page 116, S. b. "And there will never be a new law" refers to the apostles and disciples and should be crossed out.

[In the Sabionetta edition the reading is: "And there will be but the one law."]

Page 133. An examination of Efodi is necessary [*i. e.*, of Prophiat Duran's commentary].

COMMENTARY ON THE FIVE MEGILLŌTH BY RASHI.

In the passage which begins "I am black, yet comely" the sentence "She [Jerusalem] will yet become the chief city over all" should be erased.

FIVE MEGILLŌTH, MIDRASH OF ESTHER.

In the portion beginning "After these things" some foolish and ignorant critics have wished to expurgate the words "And the end of this man shall be the pyre." Such an attitude is extremely shameful, for the expression is used only in regard to Haman himself, who had made a gallows on which to hang Mordecai, and at the end was hung upon it himself.

[To Esther iii: 1. "So also shall he who allowed us to see the fall, the crucifixion of the King's two servants, *Bigtān* and *Tēresh* (Esth. ii: 21–23), allow us to see Haman's fall. He who revenged us upon the former, will revenge us on the latter also. The end of this man, too, will be crucifixion ("pyre" in the Index).]

JOB.

Nothing.

SĒPHER TANḤŪMATH 'ĒL.

Throughout this book great praise is found ascribed to the Jewish people, but there is nothing wrong in this; for it is understood as referring to a State which has ceased to exist, and to-day it is our own people which is praised in place of them, and which is meant by "Israel."

SĒPHER HĀ-'IḴḴĀRIM.

Part III, Chapter 25. It is proper to obliterate the whole chapter, or better still, it should be torn out of the book entire.

[Joseph Albo's *Principles of the Mosaic Religion.* The chapter in question is devoted to an argument against the Trinity, etc., mentioning Jesus several times.]

That the *Sēpher ha-ziḳḳūḳ* was used, at least in part, by the Mantuan Commission seems very likely. Doubtless much of it was written for the first time during the course of the work, and other portions were added at later times; doubtless, also, the

censors often became too careless to use an index[313a]; but some works censored by them follow the *ziḳḳūḳ* closely. For example, a copy of Maimonides' *Mōrē Nᵉbhūkhīm* (Sabionetta, 1553) was signed by Dominico Irosolimitano in 1598, and contains the following expurgations:

Page 9 (Shem Tobh). "Wise Men of Edom," which replaced the phrase "the priests of Edom" cited in the Index.

Page 31. Exactly as in the index, despite the fact that the first letters of "Christians" (*Nōṣᵉrīm*) were previously joined by a stroke so as to form the word *Miṣrīyīm* ("Egyptians").

Page 53. "Christians" is blotted out, as well as two phrases not mentioned in the index, one of which is *hā'ūmōth ha-sᵉkhālōth* ("foolish peoples").

Page 54. The expressions "doctrine of the Trinity," "Christian," and "Christianized."

Page 69. Corrected as demanded in the index.

Page 115b. The beginning and end of the passage blotted out correspond to the index provision, but a few words within the passage have been left.

Page 133. No corrections.

Comparing these expurgations with those demanded by the *ziḳḳūḳ*, certain differences will be noted. For example, the phrase "I this day have begotten thee" (first correction cited in the *ziḳḳūḳ*) does not appear in this list; but as it was not printed in this edition at all, the difference is without significance.

On the other hand, there is but one expurgated passage in the whole book which is not covered by the *Sēpher ha-ziḳḳūḳ*, so that, allowing for the censorship before printing, for possible corrections at other times, and for changes made in the *ziḳḳūḳ* later, the evidence is almost conclusive that this copy of the *Mōrē* was expurgated according to the index. Similarly, from a copy of the *Sēpher ha-ʿikkārīm* (Soncino, 1486) the three entire leaves covered by Part III, Chapter 25,[313b] have been torn out (but replaced in MS.) exactly as prescribed by the *Sēpher ha-ziḳḳūḳ*.[314]

[313a] A very striking example: one copy of *Ḥōbhōth ha-Lᵉbhābhōth* has fifty passages censored, another not one, though both are signed by Irosolimitano. *R. E. J.*, 30 : 279.

[313b] See p. 85.

[314] These are the only two works which I have been able to find censored by the Mantuan Commission, and provided for in the portion of the Index printed by Mortara.

Unfortunately, further comparisons of this kind are now impossible; but evidence of the use of some index is offered by the identity of the corrections found in different copies of various works censored at this time. Thus Irosolimitano signed two copies of Isaac Arama's *ʿ*ʿ*ḳēdath Yiṣḥāḳ*, one the *editio princeps*, the other with the title-page missing, and both censored by other expurgators also. One or two typical passages selected at random are here compared by printing the corrections of the first copy in italics, and enclosing those of the second in square brackets.

In Chapter II, which contains arguments against those who hold that the Universe and the Law are founded on chance, the writer denies that certain Rabbinical expressions are evidence against him, and continues:

"And a good example of this is found in the Rabbinical saying, 'If it had not been for the noise of the sun's sphere the noise of the [tumult of *Rome*] would have been heard, and had it not been for the noise of the *tumult of Rome*, the sound of the sun's sphere would have been heard.' Here it is plain that the words cannot be taken literally, but only as a metaphorical comparison of the sound which the sun makes in its rotation to the sound of [*Rome's multitudes.*] *And the thought underlying this metaphor is this: Rome at that time was trying with all her might to destroy God's rule from the world,* [*and to cause his name and the mention of him to be forgotten; we know of such attempts in the period of religious persecutions.*[315]] *And as the Bible says* (Ps. *83, 6 ff*), '*For they have consulted together, and are confederate against thee.*' *This was because they,* [*Edom, the Moabites, etc.,*] *intended to destroy the law and the commandments of God from the universe* [*and to found and renew false doctrines*] *by slandering the God above, for at that time the Epicureans*[316] *were multiplying. It is because of the truth of what is now made plain through the presentation of these facts that the expression in question was used.*"

Five lines below the passage continues:

"The voice of the multitudes *of Rome*, then, *was heard by all men, and it was turning them to infidelity. And so with the phrase 'if it had not been for the noise of* [*the multitude of Rome*' *must be understood 'who was destroying men and turning them from belief in the true faith and forcing them, with a violent hand, to accept corrupt doctrines' while the meaning of the rest of the verse is, 'there was not a man who did not perceive this even more perfectly than he could the sound which the sun's sphere makes in its revolution.'*"]

These erased passages cover about eleven full lines of one of the two columns of a quarto volume.

[315] Or "conversions", *shᵉmādōth*, from the same root as *mᵉshummād*; cp. rule 8 of the *Sēpher ha-zikḳūḳ*.

[316] *I. e.*, "infidels"; cp. rule 7, and the corresponding rule in the Cardinal's decree concerning *mīn*.

The next passage censored is in Chapter XVIII, a commentary on the phrase "Abraham was 99 years old," etc.:

"*And Abraham still sits at the* [*entrance to Gehinnom and saves any circumcised Israelite from entering there.*] And this is because through the institution [of the first covenant, circumcision,] and the institution [of the latter covenant, the Law, they are saved from being condemned to Gehinnom. And therefore, says Eleazar bar Ḥizḳiyah, in the passage we have cited: '*Wretched is the uncircumcision to which the wicked shamefully adhere.*'"] [317]

In Chapter XXIII:

"And it is known that many of their answers to [*infidels*] [318] were of the nature of mere hints."

In Chapter XXVIII, on Joseph's dream, mention is made of the interpretation which refers it to the Messianic hope. Six lines, apparently explaining the words "and all the hosts of heaven bowed down," have been so heavily inked over in both copies that the paper has been eaten away.[319] The words immediately following these six lines are not so heavily censored:

["'*Words are less trustworthy than facts,*' *as has been said;*] *and this might be the general answer to all of the arguments. And the true explanation of the passage itself is far different from that idea, as you can plainly see. It has already been explained in these words:* '*Who are the heavenly hosts? They are the Rabbis; and he* (i. e., *the Messiah*) *will be even greater than they in wisdom, than Moses in power, and than Abraham in nobility.*'" [320]

Another passage:

"And Christians have . . . therefore been wrong in this passage [and have carried their error to a most shameful stage in that they say] that the Messiah was to destroy the law and the commandments and to substitute for them pleasure—['*changing its whole form for strange forms*' [321] —and destroying them entirely. The soul of the wicked among us therefore rejoiced, for they were given much freedom, and were taught falsehood."]

In Chapter LXX:

["*The apostles through whom the New Testament was spread were not in any degree prophets.*"] [322]

These are a few of the passages expurgated, and are taken from the first half of the work; while individual words on many pages are crossed out in one copy and not in the other, nearly all

[317] Cp. rule 12, mentioning this quotation.

[318] *Mīnīm*, rule 7.

[319] In other editions the six lines were not printed at all, as in the edition of Venice, 1573.

[320] Cp. rule 13.

[321] *Ṣūrōth*, forms, idols; cp. rule 3.

[322] Rule 18.

the more extended expurgations are found in the corresponding passages of both.

But one other striking example will be cited. Irosolimitano censored two copies of the *Mᵉ'ōr 'ēnāyīm*[323] in 1597; the only correction in either copy is on page 29:

["There is no doubt that a work depending on *Greek and Roman sources is Ecclesiasticus* by Joshua ben Sirakh, mentioned in the Josipon."]

The same phrase occurs twice on the page; in one copy it is crossed out but once.

If these coincidences do not point to some use of the *Sēpher ha-ziḳḳūḳ* in Mantua, there is documentary evidence that it was used later in Rome, by Fr. Petrus de Trevio in 1623, and P. Joseph Cronti before 1641.[324] A copy was perhaps used by Renatus da Modena, 1626, during his work in Modena and Reggio, for it bears a dedication by him to the Duke of those states.[325] And if not the *Sēpher ha-ziḳḳūḳ*, some similar index was certainly used in Turin at one time, when Fr. Bartolomeo Rocca de Præterino was Inquisitor. Though he signed Hebrew books, he apparently did not expurgate them himself, but entrusted them for this purpose to a Fr. Paul, Lector[326] (or reader) of the Order of Preachers, and "Viscount"[327] of Alessandria. In a book which bears the signatures of both the Inquisitor and the Lector, the latter has explicitly stated that it was corrected in accordance with an index of expurgation.[328]

[323] "Light of the Eyes," by Azariah ben Moses di Rossi, Mantua, 1574. One copy has the page in question wrongly numbered 21; in another later edition (1576) this is corrected. Both were printed "with permission." In this passage the word "ecclesiasticus" seems to be the stumbling-block,—why, it is difficult to say.

[324] Petition of 1731, Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 21.

[325] See p. 103.

[326] The Lectors acted at times as secretaries, etc., to the Bishop.

[327] Selden, *Titles of Honor*, p. 313: "For a time bishops appointed counts under them for government, as did the Bishop of Cambray." The viscount was probably the deputy or vicar of such an officer.

[328] In a copy of the *Sepher Tōlᵉdhōth 'Ādhām*, by R. Yᵉruḥam ben Rabbi Mᵉshullam, Venice, 1553, is the inscription: *Ego fr' Paulus, vicecomes Alexrie ordis predicrū lector ex commissᵉ Bdi Inqis Taurinᵉ expurgavi d mēdis pūtē librū juxta expurgatoriū indicē mihi traditū*—"I, frater Paul, viscount of Alessandria, lector of the order of preachers, by commission from the Inquisition of Turin have expurgated from faults this book according to the index of Expurgation given to me." Immediately under it is the signature of the Inquisitor of Turin, which Neubauer records in one MS., likewise undated. See plate V.

CHAPTER X

INCONSISTENT ATTITUDE OF ROME TOWARD EXPURGATION—CENSORSHIP AND THE *HASKAMAH* IN VENICE—PERIOD OF GREATEST EXPURGATION ACTIVITY—REMAINING ITALIAN EXPURGATORS OF THE XVII CENTURY

The work of the Mantuan Commission, as has been stated, extended over 1595, 1596, and 1597, the greater part of it being done in the last year; there may even have been a decided interruption in 1596,[328a] for at the close of 1595 a new "Index Librorum Prohibitorum" was prepared in Rome, which, when published early the next year, left officials in doubt as to what the Pope's intention was. It contained the substance of Clement's first severe edict in 1593, in a paragraph the forcible wording of which, after the preceding events, deserves quotation:

"On the Talmud and other books of the Hebrews: Although in the third class [*i. e.*, anonymous works] of a former index of Pope Pius IV, under the letter T the Talmud, its glosses, notes, interpretations and expositions are prohibited, but still, if published without the name 'Talmud' and without wronging or calumniating the Christian religion, are permitted—nevertheless, our Most Holy Master, Pope Clement VIII, in his decree against the impious writings and books of the Hebrews, dated Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord 1592 [1593], on the day before the Kalends of March, in the second year of his pontificate, prohibited and condemned those works. And therefore his intention now is not that they in any way, even under any of those conditions, be permitted or tolerated, but he specially and expressly states and wishes that that kind of impious Thalmudic, cabbalistic, and other Hebrew books should remain and be considered entirely condemned and prohibited, and that against them and other books of similar kind the above-mentioned decree shall be inviolably and forever observed."

Beside the prohibition of any translations of the Hebrew prayer-book ("Mâgazor"), the Index follows Quiroga's in regard to Bible commentaries, and puts in the index-list the Targum ("Cornelii" again for "Onkeli") and the "Commentaries of Rabi Salomon and Chimi and Hierosolymitano, both the Hebrew and the Latin translation of Conrad Pellican and Paul Fagius, heretics."[328b]

The provisions of this Index were shortly afterwards repeated in instructions sent to various Inquisitors, in which it was stated that the intention of the Pope in his new Index was to forbid the expurgation of the Talmud: this work should remain condemned,

[328a] See Appendix.

[328b] Reusch, 536 ff. (cp. p. 65).

as should also other Hebrew books, in accordance with the bull against their impious writings. In order that this might be enforced, an edict should be passed sentencing any who kept such books to a confiscation of their property; and, as a further assurance of obedience, a reward of one fourth of any such property should be offered to informers (April 26, 1596).[328c] This was certainly an effective way of compelling the renunciation of the Talmud, and there were only one or two cases recorded of punishment under this law[328d]; the ban was never afterward raised, and there was probably not a single copy left in Rome.[328e]

For other Hebrew books, however, toleration was again offered on May 18, providing they contained nothing offensive[328f]; but the same disinclination before noticed to appoint censors, or to permit expurgation or the signing of expurgated works, was expressed in this brief and in a letter of instructions sent the same day to the Inquisitor of Monreale. Censoring should be done by the Jews themselves, and not by any one else, except by authority of the Holy Office; if afterward any offensive passages were found, the books should be burnt and the owner punished.[328g]

That this repetition of conflicting orders caused difficulty in the work of the Mantuan Commission, as well as elsewhere, is evident from a question which the Jews carried to Rome for settlement. It was concerning the prohibition of the "Commentaries of Salomon, Kimchi, Jeruschalmi and similar authors, both written in Hebrew and translated into Latin." The wording is, indeed, ambiguous, and the Jews urged that the Index prohibition did not apply to the rabbinic commentaries in Hebrew, since these had been permitted them even after the edict of February 28, 1593. The Inquisitors and Ordinaries of various places, however, wished to confiscate them. The Cardinals' answer supported the contention of the Jews; they held that while all the commentaries were condemned in the Index, the later papal brief of April 17, 1593, permitted them; therefore the present bull should be interpreted

[328c] Stern, 174 (No. 15): "Quarta detur delatori, et teneatur secretus."

[328d] One in 1597, and one in 1610; cp. *infra*.

[328e] Berliner (*Cen. u. Confis.*, 8) remarks that in the later confiscations, of which exact records are extant, no Talmud copies are mentioned; and as late as 1873 he found not a single copy of the early editions among the thousands of works in the Library of the Talmud Torah Institute.

[328f] V. & R., II: 188.

[328g] Stern, 174 (No. 16).

so as to prohibit only the Latin translations made by the heretics named; other rabbinic commentaries should be expurgated, and such as had already been confiscated should be returned. A copy of this decision was sent to Mantua on August 24, 1596.[328A]

In Milan these edicts brought more serious trouble, through the reward offered to informers against the Jews. A certain Bartolomeo Carranza tried to use the decree as a means of extortion, and demanded a stated sum as the price for withholding charges concerning books which proofs in his possession warranted. After having refused to accede to his demands, when he proceeded to urge the Senate and judges to take steps which would bring a large sum into the royal treasury the Jews finally decided to purchase peace, and paid the amount asked. They were correct, however, in their first suspicion that this payment would only lead to future demands. The informer brought charges against them despite their payment, and among other things, declared that they were keeping forbidden books in their possession.

As a result, in Pavia and Lodi the city officials authorized a house-to-house search, and confiscated all the books which they found—in Lodi even the prayer-books. There they were taken to the house of the city magistrate, and two apostates were invited to give evidence against them before the officials. But the Inquisitor stationed in the city was jealous of his rights and duties, and these proceedings were clearly a usurpation of them. He entered the room where the trial was going on, rebuked sharply those at work, and ordered the books to be brought to the office of the Inquisition. Whatever then may have been his personal desire, the publicity of the affair required action on his part, and the two apostates had to be heard as to the evidence. After their answers that some of the books violated the provisions of the Index, judgment was passed against the owners, the books were ordered burnt, and the offenders required to pay a large fine (March 17, 1597).[329] This was not all; in a short time peremptory orders came to the Governor of Milan from the Spanish King to expel the Jews entirely; and after these many years of resistance he was at last compelled to yield, though he tried to make the expulsion as easy as possible. But robbed of all their property as they left their homes, they went wandering as beggars in the

[328A] Stern, 166 (No. 159).
[329] *'Emek*, 180.

neighboring lands, and thus the question of censorship was effectively and finally settled in Milan.

One of the states which, for a short while, promised a peaceful asylum to the wanderers, was Modena, which in the past had been united with Reggio and Ferrara under the rule of the House of Este. Alphonso II, whose reign began in 1559, was "also one of the righteous among the gentiles," and refused to interfere in any way with the liberty of the Jews.[330] He died, however, in the latter part of 1597, and with Don Cæsar came trouble. Some time after the court of Rome had given evidence of a further change in its attitude toward expurgation, by ruling that Ordinaries to whom prohibited books might be presented should deliver them to the Inquisitor for burning *or correction* (Jan. 23, 1598),[331] Don Cæsar seems to have invited the Mantuan Commission to expurgate the Hebrew books in his lands. Whether they divided the territory among them, Domenico Irosolimitano working in Ferrara, Luigi da Bologna in Modena, and Alessander Scipio remaining with the former, or whether they visited the various cities of the duchy at pleasure, it is certain at least that Luigi da Bologna was in Carpi, 1599, in other districts around Modena before March 8, 1602, and in Reggio, 1602; that Irosolimitano was somewhere in these regions, 1598–1602, and that Scipio acted as censor in 1598. As for Ferrara, after the early part of 1598 it was lost to Don Cæsar and became papal territory, so that the policy of the House of Este no longer affected it.[332]

But even in papal territory Hebrew books were expurgated around 1600 by Fra Luigi da Bologna, who evidently left Modena for a while and went to Ancona,[333] while the signature of Andreas Scribaius has also been found with the date 1600.[334] A far more active expurgator of this period was Fr. Hippolitus of Ferrara, who had finished a revision of R. Abraham Provençal's index in 1584 at Cremona, but whose location at this time is uncertain.[335]

None of all these expurgators, however, were called to Venice, perhaps the most important of the states for the Hebrew press, and yet the most free from interference by Inquisitors and

[330] *'Emeḳ*, L., 187.
[331] Stern, 174 (No. 19).
[332] See Appendix.
[333] *R. E. J.*, XXX : 279 ff.
[334] See Appendix.
[335] See Appendix.

apostates. Not that the press was unrestricted; Venice, as has been noted, was among the first of the states to follow the lead of Rome by adopting at least a nominal censorship,[336] which by 1578 was sufficiently strict to require the regular *imprimatur* in new publications.[337] The licensing body was a council or board consisting of three patricians known as the Cattaveri, who had in charge also many other matters connected with the Jews; perhaps a reason for the jurisdiction of this particular body is indicated by still another of its duties: it was the finance committee charged with raising funds for state purposes.[338] Twice or three times only do they seem to have called apostates to their aid,[339] and then their work was not extensive. This comparative peace was due in great part to the Jews themselves. At the conference of delegates from the various communities held in 1585 to secure an effective self-censorship of the press, Venice was represented, and made an earnest effort to carry out the plan adopted at that time.[340] By the year 1599 the authority of a Jewish committee over the Hebrew press was partially recognized by the State, a fact which is evident from a sort of copyright privilege printed on the last page of Ibn Barukh's Commentary to *Ḳohēleth* (Ecclesiastes).[341] In the years immediately following it became a regular custom to print such a notice, or "rabbinic approbation" *(haskāmāh)*,[341a] after the title-page of every Venetian and Amsterdam publication. It contained not only the privilege granted to the author and publisher to print, but also a warning to the public against violating the copyright, and was originally read in the synagogues as soon as issued. One of the earliest of such notices is dated March, 1600, though the book for which it was issued did not appear till 1606.[342] It reads as follows:

[336] See p. 54.

[337] Cp. p. 56.

[338] *H. B.*, V : 98. It was their duty also to bring to light hidden treasures and unclaimed inheritances, both of which were considered state property. Cp. also *J. Q. R.*, II : 298.

[339] Vittorio Eliano (p. 54) and Domenico Irosolimitano (p. 61).

[340] Cp. p. 67.

[341] *H. B.*, V : 98. It begins: "By authority derived from the noble members of the office of the illustrious Cattaveri we decree," etc. It is signed, Adar 15, by three rabbis, four presidents of the "Minor Union" ([?] *wa'ad ḳāṭōn*), two leaders of the Levantini, and two of the Talmud Torah.

[341a] For the *haskāmāh* in Poland, 1561, cp. p. 105.

[342] *Sēpher Bēdeḳ ha-Bayith* ("Breach of the House"), Venice, 1606. A shorter

PERMIT OF THE RABBIS.

Whereas, there have appeared before us the wise, the perfect one, etc., Isaac Gershon, and his worthy associate Menaḥem Jacob Ashkenazi, and have testified that they have gone to much labor and trouble, have expended great sums, and have spared no expense, all in order that they may bring to light, in as beautiful and excellent an edition as possible, the secrets of a work of great worth, through which the public good will be advanced, viz., the book called "*Sēpher Bedheḳ ha-Bayith*, by the sage, the wonder of the generation, our master and teacher, Joseph Karo of blessed memory;

And whereas the work is to be completed, as a service to God, with the utmost beauty and perfection;

And whereas, they fear "lest they sow and another reap," doing all their work in vain, and lest they make all their expenditures only "to leave to others their wealth";

Therefore they have sought and have been granted aid from the city through the uttering of a ban, and the publishing of a rabbinic notice to the effect that no injury or harm shall come to them through any man.

And whereas permission has likewise been granted them by the nobles, the Cattaveri (may their majesties be exalted!), that their desire and wish should be fulfilled,

Now therefore we decree, under threat of excommunication, ban, and anathema through all the curses written in the Bible, that no Israelite, man or woman, great or small, be he who he may, shall purpose to publish this work, or to aid any one else in publishing it, in this or any other city within ten years, except it be by the will and permission of the associates above mentioned;

And let it be likewise understood that by this decree no Israelite is allowed to receive any copy of the book mentioned from any man, Jew or Christian, be he who he may, through any manner of deceit, trickery, or deception, but only from the above-mentioned Menaḥem Jacob Ashkenazi. For thus it is desired by the scholar, etc., mentioned above, that all copies of the above-mentioned book shall be published and sold by Menaḥem Jacob.

Upon any one who may transgress against this our decree—may there come against him "serpents for whose bite there is no charm," and may he be infected "with the bitter venom of asps"; may God not grant peace to him, etc.

But he that obeys—may he dwell in safety and peace like the green olive tree and rest at night under the shadow of the Almighty; may all that he attempts prosper; may the early rain shower with blessings his people and the sheep of his pasture.

"And ye who have clung to the Lord your God are all of you alive this day."

Thus sayeth ZION ṢARPHATI,
and thus sayeth LEBH SARVIL,
BARUKH BEN SAMUEL.

On the 17th day of Nisan, 1600, I published this ban by command of the associates mentioned above in every synagogue in the community of Venice.

ELIEZER LEVI,
Beadle of the Community.

How far the rabbis had power to enforce the *haskāmāh* is shown by a decree mentioned in an edition of the *Ma'amadōth* of

form of the *haskāmāh* was printed already in the *Bi'ūr 'al Sēpher Miṣwōth Gādhōl* ("Commentary on the Greater Book of the Law"), Venice, 1605. It is signed by the rabbis of Poland, Volhynia, and some of the rabbis and leaders in Frankfort.

the year 1606: it is there stated that the Cattaveri had given them jurisdiction over Hebrew publications, had authorized them to condemn to the flames such as contained anything offensive, and to excommunicate any one who transgressed their decree.[343] Whether any other penalties were ever imposed is unrecorded; in Amsterdam, where the *haskāmāh* was also used, the leader of the Portuguese Congregation had power to impose fines, which were divided equally among the authorities, the poor, and the injured author.[344]

Rabbinic jurisdiction, however, did not relieve Venetian publishers from the necessity of obtaining state permission also. The body from which this was obtained was, after the beginning of the XVII century, the "Reformatori della Studio in Padoa"; and the Inquisitor, at least at times, added his consent to their license.[344a]

If all this supervision, necessitating even a careful censorship of prayer-books,[344b] was irksome, it was at least successful in avoiding more serious troubles, and stands in marked contrast with the severity in Rome. Here Carl Barromeo, a neophyte,[345] was censor, and one whose attitude toward expurgation showed none of the indecision of his papal master. His one method of censorship was destruction and he strove his utmost to apply this method to as many books as possible. His opportunity came when all those surrendered in accordance with the papal decree had been given to him for judgment; and in his decision, rendered after a considerable length of time, he condemned, among other works, the fourth volume of the Mishnah (*Massēkheth ʾābhōth*, published with Hebrew text and Latin translation by Ludovico Henrico d'Arquino) as a portion of the Talmud; various rabbinical writings under the same heading; the *Mishnāyōth*, and even such works as the *Shulḥān ʿārūkh* ("The Prepared Table," by Joseph

[343] Ersch u. Gruber, II, 28 : 31; V. & R., II : 231.

[344] *E. g.*, a fine of 200 gulden for violation of the *haskāmāh*, dated June 20, 1642, issued for "*Tabhnīth Hēkhal*," Jacob Leon, 1650 (Ersch u. Gruber). Cp. pp. 44 and 106, note 397.

[344a] In the *Sepher ha-Yāshār*, Venice, 1630, is printed, beside the *haskāmāh*, a full copy of a permit from this body, given with the consent of the Inquisitor in 1615, and countersigned for the "magistrato eccelentis. contra la Biastema" by its secretary.

[344b] Zunz, *Ritus*, 223.

[345] According to the superscription in his letter of decision mentioned later; Berliner (*Censur u. Confis.*, 48), however, doubts the truth of the statement.

Karo, purely legal), on the ground that even if they differed in language and style from the Talmud, they were still, in their material and principles, based upon it; Bibles, commentaries like Kimḥi to the Psalms, as well as prayer-books, because they showed cabbalistic tendencies; Abraham ibn Ezra's Commentaries, because they contained heresies and errors against the Bible. But most remarkable, at the end of his report, Barromeo frankly admitted, that while he had kept certain works for further examination, he had condemned others without any investigation, because he felt certain they contained errors. In all cases where he gave reasons for his condemnation it is evident that he interpreted everything literally: anthropomorphisms, allegories, fables, poetry—all were treated as simple prose; every mention of "heathen" he applied to Christians; and curses upon the persecutors who had murdered thousands of Jews he took as insults to the Pope.[346]

In the light of a decision like this it can be understood how after all these years of severity, the Master of the Sacred Palace could still have under his charge a sufficient number of Hebrew books to require a special edict, such as was issued by the Pope on January 14, 1601, ordering them to be burnt at St. Peter's Place.[347] This, however, did not satisfy the censor Barromeo, but he complained also concerning the conditions outside of Rome. He charged that expurgators were not only ignorant and careless in their methods, but that they were guilty of accepting bribes.[348] And in making such charges he was not unsupported; reference has already been made to a letter of complaint concerning the work of Geraldino and Andrea de Monte[349]; a similar letter came later from Venice also.

For despite the liberal treatment of the Hebrew press by that State, the Jews probably found it preferable to secure the indulgence of the censors in other places than to mutilate their writings there under the strict surveillance of their own rabbis and the officials. It had thus come about that Venice, which had previously supported five or six printing houses, found herself scarcely able to

[346] Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 44 ff.

[347] Stern, 175 (No. 27).

[348] *R. E. J.*, XXX: 279, 280; cp. a record of 1615: "The Inquisitor N. was warned not to take in return any money from Jews, and especially for any service of his office" (Stern, 177, No. 47).

[349] Cp. pp. 41 and 72.

support two,[350]—a state of affairs which could not be expected to be borne in silence, especially since Venice had always shown herself opposed to the material prosperity of the Roman church officers, and was now in almost open enmity with the Pope. The Cattaveri decided, then, to call attention to the carelessness of censorship methods, and those of Jacob Geraldino were again singled out. On the evidence of books which had been brought before them they charged that censor with ignorance of Christian theology, lack of judgment, hypercriticism in unimportant points, and tolerance of those of great importance. Thus, in an edition of the "Berescit Rabà"[351] or "Greater Genesis" which he had sanctioned, the commentary to the phrase "*lo tob heioth adam lebado*," "it is not good for man to be alone," despite the fact that it taught opposition to celibacy, he allowed to remain unaltered.[352] The Cattaveri claimed that countless similar examples might be shown, and urged the necessity of another revision by one more faithful and better instructed in Christian doctrines, and of a strict surveillance of the press in the future.[353]

These charges, in truth, might be made against the work of all the censors and expurgators; there is no indication of the consistent use of any Index, and works which bear the signatures of Luigi da Bologna, Hippolitus of Ferrara, and Dominico Irosolimitano show the same haphazard methods as were before noticed. This but reflected the inconsistency which prevailed throughout

[350] From the letter of complaint quoted below; see note 353.

[351] *Bᵉrēshīth Rabbāh*, probably the oldest haggadic (*i. e.*, non-legal) commentary to Genesis.

[352] In the Basle Talmud, it will be recalled, this phrase had been changed to read: "It is not good for a Jew to be alone."

[353] Stern, 168 (No. 160). The letter is undated and unsigned; Stern places it "in the XVII century"; and a sentence in the earlier part of the letter ("Hora essendo dato il carico in Venetia dal santissimo officio della inquisitione et dalli Ill^mi signori capi di dieci et signori sopra la biastema a noi di correggiere i libri," etc.) allows the inference that the writers were the Cattaveri. I have treated the document as though it belonged to the period assigned by Stern, though he mentions no authority for his dating. The same objections to such a late date as were made in the case of a similar letter (p. 72) might be made here. The history of Venetian Hebrew publishing houses as given in Ersch u. Gruber, II, 28 : 60, suggests that the circumstances under which the letter seems to have been written fit best the period around 1568.—When Paul V had succeeded Clement VIII in the papacy, and the unfriendliness between Rome and Venice broke out into open conflict, it is interesting to note that against Venice herself charges were brought that she was permitting the publication of forbidden books.

these years in Rome itself, and another example of which is presented in 1602, when the order was again published that the expurgation of Hebrew books must be left to the Jews. The censorship of Luigi da Bologna, in particular, was declared invalid by Rome in a notice to the Jews of Ancona.[354] And on March 8, 1602, the Inquisitor of Modena was instructed to send a similar notice to Carpi and other places under his jurisdiction.[355] How slight was the regard at times paid to these papal orders is evidenced by the signature of P. Jos. Parius [?] dated 1604 at this very town of Carpi.[356] The Duke of Savoy, on the other hand, ordered that no apostate should be allowed to engage in censorship in his territory; but at the same time he permitted the use, without any censorship, of all Hebrew books not explicitly forbidden by the Church.[357]

Essentially the same state of affairs continued during the pontificate of Paul V (1604–1621)[358]; for the greater part of this period Rome showed no opposition to expurgation,[359] but in the closing years expressly forbade it. Neither attitude had any effect on the work of the censors; they censored at will, with the same lack of method, so that their history may be summed up in a mere record of names. In 1606, Fra Luigi da Bologna, despite the warnings previously uttered against him, was again at work[360]; in 1607, another censor's name was added to the list,

[354] *R. E. J.*, XXX : 279 ff.

[355] Stern, 175 (No. 28) : " nec confidant revisioni factæ a Aloisio de Bononia."

[356] See Appendix.

[357] *H. B.*, V : 98.

[358] The immediate successor of Clement VIII, Leo XI, was elected April 1, 1605, but died on the 27th of the same month.

[359] The attitude of Rome toward expurgation in general is seen by the publication in 1607 of the only Roman Index Expurgatorius, a second edition of which was printed in 1608 at Bergamo, a Venetian city. The editor was F. Io. Maria Brasichell, Master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace. The Index is prefaced by the rules of expurgation adopted by Clement VIII ; it is similar in its treatment of books to the *Sēpher ha-zikḳūḳ*, except that in nearly every case where the page and the first and last words of an offensive passage are cited, certain words to be substituted are added. Among the fifty works for which expurgation is provided are the Hebrew-Latin dictionaries of John Foster and Sebastian Münster. (Cp. the reprint of this Index, edited with a preface by Richard Gibbings, Dublin, 1837). Preparations had been made for another edition in 1611 (Antwerp), but, as it had not, apparently, been sanctioned by the Pope, early in the following year the Index was suddenly suspended (Reusch, I : 555).

[360] See Appendix.

Giovanni Dominico Carretto, perhaps now in Venice.[361] Pietro Ferdinando, 1608, seems to have been in Mantua,[362] and, with the date 1609, another new signature, Giovanni Dominico Vistorini, is found in many books already censored by Fr. Hippolitus of Ferrara.[363]

As evidence that at this time Rome did not object to expurgation there is the record of a restatement of the ruling made in 1598; viz., the Inquisitor of Placentia (Piacenza) was notified that when prohibited books were presented to an Ordinary, this officer was required to deliver them to the Inquisitor for burning or correction (Jan. 24, 1610).[364] At the same time, however, the law which held a Jew responsible under all circumstances for the errors of any book in his possession, was not allowed to become a dead letter. In Rome a certain Jew named Vita was arrested and charged with holding many Hebrew books containing Thalmudic errors. Sentence was passed that he be punished in accordance with the index rules of Clement VIII; his books were therefore burnt, and his property was confiscated (Feb. 4, 1610).[365]

It was, perhaps, this evidence of severity which directed serious attention to the complaints made against previous expurgation. Another period of censor activity followed, in which many of the works already signed, were subjected to a second, or even a third revision. In 1612[366] the veteran Dominico Irosolimitano was again in active service[367]; and from 1611 to 1613 Camillo Jagel made a family name, in the views of his Jewish contemporaries, as notorious for perfidy as other members made it noted

[361] See Appendix.

[362] See Appendix.

[363] See Appendix.

[364] Stern, 174 (No. 19). Piacenza had been joined to Parma.

[365] Stern, 76 (No. 40); V. & R., II : 194.

[366] In this year, to follow the history of Jewish books in the *indices librorum prohibitorum*, Sandoval's Spanish Index gave "Cabbalistic and other godless and disgraceful books" a place beside the Talmud. The Targum was also suspected, and a note ordered to be placed in the beginning of every copy to this effect: "The Targum has in many places been falsified through Jewish fables and talmudic tricks; it contains eulogies of the Jewish people, interprets wrongly many biblical passages, interpolates false doctrines, and departs from the true and authorized text; it is therefore not to be highly valued, nor is it worthy that any arguments should be based upon it; it must be read with critical prudence." These provisions appear in the later indices also (Reusch, I : 53).

[367] See Appendix.

for piety.[368] The last of these years was that of his greatest activity; he was then in Modena, Reggio, etc.[369]; but if he was appointed to make good the deficiences charged against Fra Luigi da Bologna's work there, he certainly, for the most part, left his task unfulfilled. In some books he made not a single additional correction[370]; in others a few passages at the beginning or end were expurgated[371]; in still others his signature is the only sign to indicate that they were ever in any censor's hands.[372]

In Mantua, too, despite the many censors who had already been there, another revision was undertaken by Giovanni Dominico Carretto. He had been at work, in Venice perhaps, 1607–1608, and had come to Mantua in 1616 or 1617, in response to a petition of the Jews. On May 19, 1618, he was formally appointed to his position by the General-Inquisitor of the territory under the House of Gonzaga; his appointment was originally made for one year, during which it was ordered that "no Hebrews should be molested because of books in their possession[373]"; but in 1619, and perhaps 1620, he was apparently still at work.

During part of the same period, Dominico Irosolimitano was active, but with 1619[374] his long service seems to have ended, and this is the last date found in his revision of the *Sēpher ha-ziḳḳūḳ*.[375] This now came into the possession of Renatus da

[368] The attempt has been made, indeed, to identify Camillo Jagel with Abraham Jagel of Monselice, of a Galician family, and author of *Sēpher Lēḳaḥ Tōbh*, Venice, 1595. This is according to Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, I : 54, where the statement is made that Abraham Jagel was converted at the beginning of the XVII century. M. Rœst, in the *Catalog der Hebraica und Judaica aus der L. Rosenthal'schen Bibliothek* (Amst., 1875, p. 146), has called attention to the fact that a careful perusal of Abraham Jagel's writings—one written as late as 1617—shows that he always remained a Jew; Camillo Jagel was probably another member of the family. Cp. also *H. B.*, V : 125.

[369] See Appendix.

[370] In the Columbia copy of the *Sēpher Sēdher ha-Yōm*, signed by Fra Luigi and by Jagel, the color of the ink used shows all corrections to have been made by the former.

[371] *E. g.*, Ibn Ezra's Commentary to the Torah. Cp. also Sacerdote, *R. E. J.*, XXX : 279 ff.

[372] *E. g.*, a copy of the Bologna *Siddūr* (prayer-book) of 1537 in Columbia University Library.

[373] *H. B.*, V : 100; see Appendix.

[374] See Appendix.

[375] Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 58.

Modena, a Franciscan, whose first appearance as a censor was in 1620–1621.[376]

Camillo Jagel, also, whose name is found occasionally with the date 1617, was again very active from 1619 to 1620 or 1621. His appointment at this period was in the Marches of Ancona, part of the estate of the Church[378]; this fact shows either that the decrees of the Roman court were disregarded even in papal territory, or that the oft-repeated ruling that Jews should censor their own books was understood as a prohibition of such work by Inquisitors only. For at this very time (1619–1621) Inquisitors were again commanded not to busy themselves with expurgation, but to proceed against any Jew charged with possessing a forbidden book, in particular a copy of the Talmud.[377]

Under Gregorius XV (1621–1623) there can be no doubt that expurgation by others than Inquisitors was sanctioned by the Roman court, for of the three censors known in this period, Vincentius Mattelica (1622)[378], Isaiah of Rome (1623), and Petrus de Trevio (1623), the last worked in the city of Rome itself. He was a Dominican "Master of Sacred Theology," and had been lecturer to the Jews as late as 1619 at least. In 1623, P. Rudolfi, Master of the Sacred Palace, entrusted to him a copy of the *Sêpher ha-ziḳḳūḳ*, and ordered him, having corrected Hebrew books in accordance with its instructions, to sign his name in each work so corrected.[379]

[376] See Appendix.

[377] Stern, 178 (No. 156). The Talmud and other works previously placed in the Index of course remained forbidden. Of additional writings prohibited it is interesting to note, in a decree of March 16, 1621, "Don Angelo Gabriello Anguisciola, Della Hebraica medaglia detta Maghen David & Abraham, Dichiaratione"; and: "Maghen David & Abraham, breve discorso," etc. The medallion in question, which was also prohibited, was used as an amulet to ward off danger from fire. It was known as the "shield of David and Abraham" (*Māghēn dāwīdh wᵉ ābhrāhām*); on the one side was a Messiah's head surrounded by circles and squares with Hebrew characters, on the other squares and triangles with Hebrew characters and names (Reusch II : 183). In 1622 was forbidden also: "Sententiæ et proverbiæ rabbinorum," a translation of the *Pirḳē 'Ābhōth* ("Sayings of the Fathers"), by Lud. Henr. Daquin. Cp. Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 46.

[378] See Appendix.

[379] Steinschneider in *H. B.*, V : 125, has the following note: "*1623. F. Petrus de Tr'ellio expurg. deput.*, perhaps to be read Tremellio (a relative of the well-known Imm. Tr., died 1580). The sign ' is also written over the *e* of *deput.*, although higher, and *ellio* is small and indistinct." The proper reading of the name is probably indicated in Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 21, and in a license printed in the *Concor-*

The second of these censors, Isaiah of Rome, subjected the books in Mantua to at least their fourth or fifth revision,[380] and it cannot be a cause for wonder that the Jews of that State, as well as of Modena, instead of welcoming expurgation, had come to look upon it with much aversion. Since a censor's signature, or the signatures of even three or four of them, guaranteed no immunity from future annoyance and danger, even for the period of one or two years, it was useless to submit to the annoyance at all. Therefore, when the Inquisitor of Modena declared that a new and stricter revision had been ordered, as soon as the news was brought to Mantua deputies were appointed (Dec. 13, 1624) to do all in their power to keep the order from being extended to include this State.[381]

In Modena, also, the Jews had apparently sought to avert the trouble, for Pelegrin Sanguinetti of Modena received advice from Rabbi Tranquillo Corcos of Rome as to their rights in the matter. He wrote to them concerning those clauses in the brief of Clement VIII (Aug. 17, 1593) and in the decree of the Index Commission (Aug. 24, 1596) by which it was specifically ordered that expurgation must be undertaken by the Jews only (Dec. 19, 1624).[382] Despite this, in 1626 Renatus of Modena was appointed to make the third revision of their books,[383] and that this time thoroughness was attempted is shown by the apparent use of the *Sēpher ha-zikḳūḳ*, a copy of which was corrected and dedicated to the Duke of Modena and Reggio by Renatus in the same year.[384] His work, however, marks the end of this very active period of expurgation; excepting Antonio di Medicis Firenzi, 1628–1629, perhaps in Cremona,[385] no censor's name is recorded until the Hebrew books in Rome were subjected to another correction.

dantiæ Sacrorum Bibliorum Hebraicorum (by R. P. Doct. F. Mario di Calasio, Rome, 1621). The license is dated 1619, and, after vouching for the utility, etc., of the work, concludes: "This is my opinion, I, Fr. Petrus de Trevio of the order of Preachers, Master of Sacred Thology, and lecturer [*concionator*, cp. p. 62] to the Hebrews."

[380] See Appendix.

[381] Stern, 181 (No. 162).

[382] Stern, 182 (No. 163).

[383] See Appendix. *H. B.*, V : 101 : "Renato of Bologna, 1626, was seen in a copy of the Commentary on the Psalms by Sal. Athia; perhaps he was the same as Renato of Modena."

[384] Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 59.

[385] See Appendix.

Some time before 1641 P. Joseph Cronti, who, like Fr. Petrus de Trevio before him, had been "Lecturer to the Jews" in Rome, was similarly ordered to make use of the *Sēpher ha-zikḳūḳ*.[386] Dated 1640 and 1641, the signature of Gir. da Durallano is found in books which had been previously corrected by Jagel, Renatus da Modena, and Luigi da Bologna[387]; and in 1640 Isaiah of Rome was likewise at work.[388]

Another period of thirty years passed, apparently, before the next expurgator, Prospero Ruggieri of Reggio, became active (1669)[389]; while the very last signature recorded in the XVII century, that of Antonio Franc. Enriques, is dated 1687.[390] His appointment was in Urbino, which, though situated in the Marches of Ancona, had remained independent until it was incorporated with papal territory (1626). An eighteenth-century censor of this city has noted that an expurgation of Hebrew books had been undertaken there in 1681[391]; but as he mentions nothing of that undertaken in 1687, it is possible that the former date is an error.

CHAPTER XI

CENSORSHIP, CONFISCATIONS, AND THE *HASKAMAH* IN AUSTRIA AND POLAND—SEVERITY IN PRAGUE—TALMUD EDITIONS

Outside of Italy, the expurgation of Hebrew books seems nowhere to have been undertaken, nor are there evidences of other official censorship in any Hebrew publications, before the XVII century. The freedom allowed to Jews in Turkey has already been noted; Holland, too, after the revolt of the Netherlands, was a safe asylum.[392] In Germany, it will be remembered, the first attempts had been made at restricting the press in general

[386] Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 21.

[387] Neubauer reads the name Durassano. Cp. Appendix and plate III.

[388] See Appendix.

[389] See Appendix.

[390] See Appendix.

[391] Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 30.

[392] The mild interpretation of even the Talmud prohibition in Amsterdam is shown by an edition of the Mishnah, with a Latin translation (1688–1703), the third part of which was dedicated to Cardinal Franc. Maria Medici (Reusch, I : 51). Cp. p. 95. for the *haskāmāh*.

during the early XVI century; but it was the Archbishop of a province, and not the papal Inquisitor, upon whom the duties of censorship devolved. With Dominican fervor absent, and episcopal activity engrossed in temporal affairs, even the Protestant German press was unfettered. Ferdinand II, however, who became King of Bohemia and Hungary in 1618 and Emperor of Germany in 1619, and who established his authority over revolting Bohemia by his victory at the Weissenberg in 1620, was a stern Catholic; his whole life was one endeavor to reestablish Catholicism throughout his domains. It might be expected then that attention would soon be directed toward the Hebrew press of Prague, the only city in Germany which really supported a Jewish publication office.[393]

In Poland, too, there was a revival of Catholicism under Sigismund III (1587–1632), but it did not apparently affect the liberty which Jews had enjoyed from the time they first began to take refuge there from the German persecutions of the Middle Ages. Their literary freedom is evidenced by the publication in Lublin, with Rabbinic approbation, of portions of the Talmud between 1559–1576, at the very time when that work was being burnt in Italy. Similar work was undertaken again in Cracow, 1602–1605, and 1616, and in Lublin, 1617–1628, in all of which, while the Basle edition was really used as a basis, many of its faults were corrected, and no pretence was made on the title-pages of conforming to the Trent Index.[394] But in 1628, came signs of trouble when the papal Nuncio in Poland demanded that the books printed in Lublin should be put under the ban, and those responsible for their publication be punished.[395] This at least had the effect of thoroughly alarming the Jews, and a synod of elders was called in 1631 to take action. The result of their deliberations was expressed in the following circular:

> Many greetings to our beloved ones, our brethren, the whole house of Israel:
>
> Since we have learnt that many Christians have taken great pains to learn the language in which our books are written, therefore we proclaim that we shall pronounce the great ban against any one who may disobey us by publishing, in new editions of the Mishnah or Gamarah, any passages relative to Jesus of Nazareth. Therefore see to it well that you neither write nor publish anything at all, good or evil, concerning these matters: in order that there may come no evil to us and our faith. For we

[393] *H. B.*, V: 127; Zunz, *Ritus*, 148, 222.

[394] Rabbinowicz, *Ma'amar*, 54, 70, 71, 74–80.

[395] Reusch, I: 51.

know well what has befallen us in past times through worthless apostates, who have accepted the Christian religion, and being faithful to its precepts, have opposed us. Be then well warned.

But if it should happen that you hearken not to our words in this our proclamation, and that you act against our command by continuing to do these things as they have been done before, then will you again bring upon us and yourselves greater trouble, more cruel than it has been in the past; in anger the Christians will oppress us and force us to receive their faith, even as they have done before, so that the latter distress will be greater even than the former.

Therefore, and for these reasons, be this our decree against you at this hour and this moment: whenever you publish such books anew, you shall leave in place of any passage in which any of the deeds of Jesus of Nazareth are described a vacant space, and in that space you shall print a circle like this O. For the rabbis and those who have learnt the omitted passages will know how to teach the youths in each case; while at the same time Christian scholars will be unable to base charges against us on such grounds. So shall we be saved, and there will be no further distress such as there has been before; so shall we dwell in peace."[396]

Before this decree was ever enforced,[397] however, there were signs of trouble in Germany also. The Emperor had decided to enforce the bull of Clement VIII in regard to Hebrew censorship and had, perhaps, even desired to institute expurgation. For on Nov. 23, 1629, the Cardinal of Cremona, a member of the Roman Inquisition, wrote to the Cardinal Pallota, in Vienna, urging him to support the efforts of the Emperor in his attitude toward Jewish literature; but at the same time he noted that the court of Rome never wished to charge Christians with the correction of Hebrew books.[398] Ferdinand's adoption of the papal policy is evidenced by an imperial edict of February, 1630, forcing the Jews to listen to conversion sermons by Christians, even as was done in Rome[399]; the adoption of some sort of censorship[400] is shown by one of the very few products of the Prague press between 1620–1640, a prayer-book (1635) bearing the *imprimatur* "corrected in accordance with the command of the Emperor Ferdinand."[400a] Some time after this (before 1673) Archbishops

[396] The Hebrew reprinted in *Théorie du Judaism*, by L'Abbe L. A. Chiarini, Paris, 1830.

[397] The "Jüdisch Deutsch" *Gᵉlīlōth Ēreṣ Yisrā'ēl*, by Gershon b. Eliezer, 1635, ostensibly an account of the lands in which Jews dwell, but filled with offensive stories, was burnt in Warsaw. Ersch u. Gruber, II, 28 : 130; Steinschneider, *Catalogus*, 1011.

[398] Reusch, I : 51; *R. E. J.*, XXX : 277. In *H. B.*, II : 107, however, the statement is made that the letter read "not to support the Emperor in his attitude."

[399] Graetz, X : 47.

[400] Zunz, 223.

[400a] *H. B.*, II : 107, and note 3.

were entrusted with the licensing power, and for many years censorship here, as well as in Poland, was practised by the Christian officers appointed for similar supervision of the general press.[400b]

This censorship as exercised by the Archbishop of Prague toward the close of the XVII century was especially severe, and was accompanied by other restrictions and troubles. Prague always showed herself most ready to respond to any call for anti-Jewish measures, and such a call had lately come from a new source. While Hebrew literature had succeeded by this time in arousing for itself in non-Jewish circles the intelligent and sympathetic interest of men like the French Richard Simon,[401] new opposition, also, was encountered from others like the German Protestant scholars Johann Wülfer, Johann Wagenseil, and Johann Eisenmenger. The charges, such as those against the *ʿālēnū*,[402] which they brought in their controversial writings, were not new; but they were not now confined to books. The fact that not an offensive word need be printed in order to teach that which the Church had not sanctioned is a fact which had come to be realized by others than the Jews. This brought an order from Rome to Vienna, that Catholic priests should be present at the sermons of all rabbis, to prevent the preaching of anti-Christian doctrines—an order which was promptly obeyed in the case of Prague by the appointment of a Jesuit Father, Wolfgang Preissler, Professor of Theology and Hebrew at the University of that city. He soon sent a report to the Archbishop, in which he charged the Jews with blaspheming Catholics, and he further demanded the confiscation of Talmudic and cabbalistic writings.

The Archbishop, in turn, sent a long memoir to the President of the Chancery of the royal court, charging that the teachings of such works as the Talmud and *ʿĒn Yaʿaḳōbh*[403] were dangerous to civil and religious authority (Dec. 7, 1693). As a result the rabbis were forbidden, for the time being, to preach at all, and the works in question were ordered to be confiscated and examined.

[400b] Ersch u. Gruber, II, 28 : 449; *H. B.*, II : 107, V : 126.

[401] The first Catholic Bible-critic, whose *Histoire critique du vieux testament*, Paris, 1678, written after a comprehensive study of rabbinical literature, declared the necessity of a knowledge of tradition for a proper interpretation of Scripture (Graetz, X : 273, 291 ff).

[402] Cp. Johann Wülfer, *Theriaca Judaica*, Nuremberg, 1681 (Graetz, X : 303). Wagenseil's *Tela ignea Satanæ* appeared in Altdorf the same year. See pp. 17 and 29.

[403] See p. 35.

For the future, when preaching should be again permitted, sermons should be submitted in manuscript to the authorities before being delivered. To carry out the provisions of this measure the chancery a week later invited the royal Judge of Prague, George Louis Kutschera of Osterbourg, to institute a secret search for Hebrew books by entering suddenly, on an appointed day, the *bēth ha-midhrāsh*[404] and the synagogues.

The Judge hastened to comply, and although the largest library of the city (7000 printed works and 1000 MSS.), belonging to the Chief Rabbi, David Oppenheimer, had been removed to Hannover, he succeeded in confiscating two hundred books.[405] These, in the report of the affair which he made, he divided into five classes: in the first were included cabbalistic works (among them the Talmud treatises *Bābā Ḳammā* and *Sanhēdhrīn*); in the second, Bible commentaries; in the third, prayer-books; in the fourth, Rabbinical works like the *Ṭūrīm*,[406] and *Ḥōshen Mishpāt*,[407] *Shulḥān ʿĀrūkh*,[408] *ʿabhōdhah Zārāh*, and ibn Ezra, in which he charged that the rabbis, by pronouncing maledictions on those who had recourse to Christian tribunals, aroused opposition to the enforcement of Christian justice; in the fifth, miscellaneous works requiring expurgation, such as *Sepher Ṣēmaḥ Dāwīdd*.[411]

The leaders of the Jewish community promptly protested, and denied before the chancery of the Bohemian court all the charges made against them. The court was inclined to believe their denials, and informed the Archbishop that unless he offered objections the confiscated books would be restored and permission to preach renewed. The Archbishop, in turn, urged a public disputation over the points at issue, between the Jews and Preissler, but the former opposed this on the ground that Preissler had shown himself entirely ignorant of Hebrew and Chaldee.

While the controversy dragged on during the year 1695,[412] the

[404] "House of study," school.

[405] Oppenheimer's father-in-law, Lipman Cohen, to whom the books were entrusted, was a court actor and a man of much influence (Graetz, X : 347).

[406] "The (Four) Rows," a codification of the legal matter in the Talmud, by Jacob ben Asher.

[407] "The Shield of Justice," the fourth "row" of the preceding, treating of civil justice.

[408] "The Prepared Table," a similar compendium by Joseph Karo.

[411] "Sprout of David," a work on Jewish and non-Jewish history, by David Gans (1541–1618), who lived in Prague.

[412] Schweinburg-Eibenschitz, *R. E. J.*, XXIX : 267.

Emperor Leopold himself did not allow his Catholic sympathies to appear in his attitude to Hebrew literature; in fact, he issued to a Sulzbach publisher named Beckmann a privilege which allowed him to produce an edition of the Talmud based on that of Basle, and which secured to him the sole right to print and sell it for twelve years. Frederick III of Brandenburg, who had been an ally of the German Emperor, issued a similar privilege.[413] Again, when complaints against the chancery of Prague reached the Imperial Chamber, an explanation was demanded, and when the answer came (May 19, 1696), acknowledging the confiscation and the restrictions against which complaint had been made, but insisting that they were necessary for the welfare of the Catholic faith, the commission of the Viennese court decreed that although the Jews had thus far failed to refute the charges brought by Preissler, they should be allowed six weeks in which to make good their defence (July 6). In the meantime the rabbis should neither be restrained from preaching, nor be forced, before delivering their sermons, to submit them for examination. On the other hand, the case of the Church should be upheld by Preissler and his assistants by attendance at the sermons, and the recording of hostile words for submission to competent authorities.[414] Displeasing as this decision was to the Jesuit, it still left the position of Hebrew books so undecided that conditions seemed unfavorable for a continuation of the Talmud publication in Sulzbach; and the work was stopped after several treatises had been printed.[415] Preissler, indeed, soon returned to the attack, and brought new charges. He sent to the imperial court a list of the books confiscated, together with notices of various papal bulls in which they had been condemned, and put before the court the choice of two opinions: either the Popes, in condemning these works, had acted unjustly, or the Jews, in defending them, had spoken deceitfully. The court's choice, of course, could not be in doubt; Preissler had the satisfaction of seeing the books condemned to remain in confiscation. But at the same time the court persisted in its first decision in so far as it charged the chancery of Prague to secure to the rabbis the privilege of preaching (July 6, 1696).

[413] Dr. M. Freudenthal, *M. G. W. J.*, XXIV, 80 ff.

[414] *R. E. J.*, XXIX, 267 ff.

[415] They show omissions and corrections similar to the Basle edition, *M. G. W. J.*, 24 : 80 ff; Rabbinowicz, 85.

After this the Talmud work, interrupted in Sulzbach, was continued in Frankfort, and with the *haskāmāh* of the rabbis the remaining treatises were printed between 1697 and 1699; they contained many readings corrected in accordance with the Beneviste [415a] and Lublin editions, although the title-pages bore the notice that the Basle edition and the expurgations of Marco Marino had been followed. [416]

Whatever mildness on the part of the German court events of this period may indicate was due in large part to the exertions of such courtiers as Wertheimer and the banker Samuel Oppenheimer, [417] upon the latter of whom in 1700 devolved another task,—to secure the suppression of perhaps the most dangerous of the anti-Jewish writings, Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*, just in the press. At great cost he was successful at the German court [418]; but in 1701, when Frederick I crowned himself King of Prussia, there was much doubt as to what his action in the matter would be.

The new King seemed uncertain which way to face in his attitude toward Hebrew literature—toward Rome, or toward Holland; the former at this time declared more strongly than ever its opposition to rabbinical writings, of which several additional were condemned in the new Index of 1703 [419]; in the latter the spirit was such that the Christian scholar Wilhelm Surenhuys declared that he who would be a worthy Christian must

[415a] Amsterdam, 1644–48.

[416] Rabbinowicz, 87, 88 In external appearances the Basle edition was followed, *i. e.*, in regard to title-pages, the paging of certain parts (as the beginning of the treatise *Nāzir* in the middle of the page), certain abbreviations (as of mishnah quotations in the treatise *Niddāh*), and many of the censor's notes. But other notes were omitted, the treatise *ʿabhōdhāh Zārāh* was incorporated, and passages containing anthropomorphisms were restored.

[417] *R. E. J.*, XXIX : 267 ff.

[418] Graetz, X : 305 ff.

[419] Reusch, II : 148 ff. Two works by R. Jacob b. Ḥabīb b. Solomon (probably the *Ēn Yaʿaḳōbh* and *Beth Yaʿaḳōbh*) were condemned; concerning a second author, Reusch writes: "The work of Mordechai fil. [in the latest indices: Filip.] Arje Loew is, according to Wolf: I, 590, a cabbalistic writing which appeared in 1701." But apparently the notice referred to is on p. 591, viz.: "Jehudah Arje, or Löw, of Modena, *Bēth Lēḥem*, Venice, 1628" (an index, etc., to the above-mentioned *ʾĒn Yaʿaḳōbh*); the only work by Mordecai b. Aryeh Löw mentioned in Wolf is on p. 789, *Mikwēh Yisrāʾēl*, a cabbalistic treatise on circumcision. The third work added to the Index was R. Shimeon ha-Darshan's *Yalḳūṭ Shimʿōni*, a midrastic compilation, Livorno, 1650 (first edition, 1521).

first become a Jew, or at least must know most intimately the Hebrew language and culture.[420]

Frederick I, on the one hand, took Eisenmenger's writings under his protection, and endeavored to secure, both from the Emperor Leopold and his successor Joseph I, the removal of the prohibition against their publication; and failing in this, he patronized another edition in Königsberg, where the imperial censorship was without force. On the other hand, when two apostates, Christian Kahlz and Franz Wenzel, again brought the old charges against the *ʿālēnū*, he acted with moderation; at first (Dec., 1702) he caused all the rabbis and teachers to be called together, and secured from them a sworn statement that in the word *wᵉrīḳ*,[421] or in the blank space representing it in prayer-books, they understood no reference to Jesus; later (Jan., 1703) he ordered that no part of this prayer should ever be recited except aloud at public services, and that appointed overseers should be present to notice whether insulting gestures, etc., accompanied the recitation. But this regulation was also afterward modified; and when a Polish convert brought charges against the old Haggada, and the King suspended the publication of an edition of the *Midhrāsh Rabbāh* (1705, Frankfort-on-the-Oder), this was done with the avowed intention of securing a judgment of this work from Christian theologians; and when the theological faculty of Frankfort gave a favorable decision (Oct., 1706) the book was allowed to be sold (March, 1707). In December of this year another convert brought the customary charges against the Talmud in Friedeberg (Neumarkt), and when the authorities had confiscated several copies the King again leaned toward liberalism and ordered their return.[422]

It was noted above that Joseph I, who succeeded the Emperor Leopold in 1705, followed the latter's policy in regard to Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*, and although at least on one occasion he ordered certain forbidden Hebrew books—those belonging to a Polish Jew named Elkan—to be burnt (Dec. 23, 1709), toward the Talmud he also took the customary German position by granting to Michael Gottschalk a privilege for print-

[420] Hebrew books published in Amsterdam were printed with rabbinic *haskāmōth*, *e. g.*, *Lēḥem Mishnāh*, 1703.

[421] Cp. pp. 17, 29, and 107.

[422] Graetz, X : 308 ff.

ing and selling it, with the usual restrictions, and with the provision that the five copies demanded in the case of non-Hebrew books, be brought to the imperial court (Oct. 13, 1710); Frederick Augustus I (Augustus II), Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, granted a like privilege.[423]

In one part of Germany, however, there was at no time any cessation in the strict watch kept on Hebrew books. For a permanent inquisition commission existed now in Prague, consisting not of Dominicans but of three Jesuit Fathers, Joannes Gall, Georgius Thomas, and Franciscus Haselbauer [424]; and when an edition of the prayer-books was published there in 1710, without permission, but still well censored by the editors, trouble soon arose.[425] The year following the succession of Charles VI (1711) the commission mentioned above instituted the practice of house-searching, such as had been and was soon again to become common in Italy. In the homes of forty-two families certain books were found and seized; after an examination the commission decided that the blasphemies which they contained warranted the utter destruction of the greater number, while only a small minority deserved to be even provisionally spared. Copies of all editions of the Talmud were condemned, for where the Lublin, Frankfort, and Basle editions had omitted printing blasphemous passages which the Amsterdam edition contained, these omissions had been supplied with the pen; the objectionable passages in question were for the most part the same as those which gave offence on other occasions.[426] Other works cited in the papal indices, of course, shared in the condemnation, so that titles like *ʿĒn Yaʿaḳōbh*,[427] *Zōhar*,[428] *Bᵉrēshīth Rabbāh*,[429] *Mishnēh Tōrāh*,[430] *Rashi*,[431] and *Siddūrīm*,[432] became in this way as well known as *Talmūdh*. The formality of summoning the owners of these

[423] *M. G. W. J.*, 42 : 88.
[424] G. Wolf, *H. B.*, VI : 35.
[425] *H. B.*, VI : 128.
[426] Mainly those which mention Jesus, as *Sanhedrin*, 43a, cp. p. 57.
[427] Cp. p. 35.
[428] Cp. p. 44.
[429] Cp. p. 98.
[430] Cp. p. 56, note 194.
[431] Cp. p. 65 and note 227.
[432] "Orders" of prayer, prayer-books. Those printed in Amsterdam, Dessau, Berlin, and Prague were mentioned in particular.

books in order that they might have an opportunity to offer a defence was followed ; and then the censors decided to carry out their sentence against the majority of the works by burning them ; in the few which deserved to be returned it was decided to stamp an official permit.[433]

The sternness of the Jesuits evidenced in this instance continued, and soon gave rise to another interesting process, which, though it originated in the province of Silesia, was still closely connected with the Bohemian movement. R. Sabbathai Bassista, a publisher in Dyrenfurth, had brought out several prayer-books, commentaries, etc., among which one work, published before in Prague and Amsterdam, met with great favor. This was R. Nathan Nata's *Sha'are Ṣiyyōn* ("Gates of Zion"), in which were contained a Zion song by R. Ḥayyim b. Abraham ha-Cohen, and a ritual "confession of sin," which furnished ground for charges. Several years after Bassista had published a second edition of the work, and when he was 71 years old (1712), a process was instituted against him "for insult to the spiritual and temporal rulers" ; the Jesuit Franciscus Kolb was complainant, and the case was opened by the Judicial Chamber (Appelations Kammer) in Prague.

Soon, however, the Governor of Silesia was requested to carry it on, and the Emperor Charles VI himself supported the movement with a decree ordering the energetic prosecution of the inquiry and the confiscation of all copies of the *Sha'are Ṣiyyōn* found in Upper or Lower Silesia (April 1, 1712).

The next step was taken on April 14 in the arrest of Bassista and his son, who had succeeded to the business ; they were immediately arraigned for trial in Breslau, not before the city magistrate, but before two deputized members of the city council, the Professor of Hebrew in the Gymnasium of St. Elizabeth, Gottfried Pahl, having been summoned as expert witness.

The first charge made, after the trial had started unfortunately for the publishers with the admission that they had received no official permission for the work in question, was that the Church, in the use of the word *z'nūnīm*, had been likened to a harlot. The defence answered that this word was at times applied to a woman who was married, and at times to a housewife in opposition to a maid, as in the case of Sarah and Hagar ; at all events,

[433] G. Wolf : *H. B.*, VI : 35.

in the *Sha'arē Ṣiyyōn* the word was used figuratively, in a conversation between God and Zion.

The second charge, that Christians had been compared to "the flesh of asses," was refuted on the ground that since the song had been written in Jerusalem, the author's words could not be understood as referring to Christians.

The third charge was indeed interesting: it was held that the song expressed the wish that God might burn the houses of all those who give honor and who pray to Jesus and Mary. To understand this charge it must be remembered that both the decree of the Cardinals, issued in 1593, and the *Sēpher ha-ziḳḳūḳ* provided: Wherever the word "heathens" or "idolaters" occurs, *'akkūm* (the abbreviation for *'ōbḳ'dhē khōkhābhīm umazzālōth*, "worshippers of the stars and planets") should be substituted. The abbreviation was used, exactly as prescribed by the Church itself, in the *Sha'rē Ṣiyyōn;* and yet now the amazing charge was brought that it stood for *'obḳ'dhē kristos umiryam*, "worshippers of Christ and Mary"! The defence consisted, of course, in the proper resolution of the abbreviation.

But it was urged that its use had been forbidden in Prague, and the defence was compelled to show that even if this were true, higher authority had at least tacitly sanctioned it by permitting it to be printed, in place of other more strongly objectionable phrases (*i. e.*, *'abhodhāh zārāh* and *'abhōdhath 'elīlīm*), even in Prague, and in this very composition.[434]

The remainder of the points charged by the prosecution were all of a similar nature, and were all similarly refuted, and then the testimony of the expert, Prof. Pahl, was awaited. His answers stand as a model of enlightened justice, for after a careful examination he sustained the defence in detail; the whole book, he submitted, had no reference to Christianity; the words to which objection had been made in the first charge referred to the Saracens and Turks, who held Jerusalem; *'akkūm* always represented *'ōbḳ'dhē khōkhābhīm umazzālōth*, and if a reference to Christ had been intended, *'aḳūm*[434a] would have been used; and, indeed, *'akkūm* was printed in the Frankfort Talmud, an edition allowed

[434] No less than fifteen editions of the *Sha'arē Ṣiyyōn* are recorded by Steinschneider (*Catalogus*, 2045), as having appeared between 1662 and 1738. According to Reusch, II: 149, the edition of Venice, 1701–1712, was put among the forbidden books in 1757.

[434a] There is a radical difference in Hebrew between *Ḳ* and *K*.

by the Emperor himself as being free from such blasphemies as were contained in that of Amsterdam.

As a result of this defence and testimony, Bassista was set free, and the action was ended. But a little while afterward (Nov. 18, 1712) the Emperor sent a general order to the Silesian Governor that in the future every book published must, under penalty of a fine, contain the publisher's name, and the place and date of printing, on the title-page; and furthermore, that twelve copies of every such work must be sent to the Chancellor of the Bohemian court. Later this order was extended to all provinces of Germany, and repeated several times; but the Emperor denied that this was in any way intended to hinder or restrict publication.[435] The censorship of Hebrew books continued, however, and even the German translations of the prayer-book were subject to revision[436]; for a proper publication of the Talmud text there seemed as yet no hope, and Michael Gottschalk failed to use the privilege granted him in 1710.

But the need for such a text was so urgent that others attempted to supply it; and these attempts illustrate the working of imperial and rabbinic permits. Rabbi Jehudah Aryeh Löw sought of the Emperor a license similar to that granted Gottschalk; this was not granted him, but he went nevertheless to Amsterdam, and, having secured a rabbinic *haskāmāh*, began the publication of a Talmud edition. Before, however, he had succeeded in printing a single tract, a third publisher, Solomon Proops, without any permit whatever, brought out in Amsterdam a fine edition of *B'rākhōth* and *Z'rā'īm* (1714). Rabbi Löw was protected by his *haskāmāh*, and his rival was forced to suspend work.[436a]

But the Rabbi in turn was plunged into difficulties when his publication was sold openly in Germany. Gottschalk wrote to the press commission in Leipzig, calling attention to this violation of the imperial edict.[436b] In Amsterdam, too, Proops seems to have spread reports that Rabbi Löw's work was being improperly done, so that his subscribers withdrew their support, and he also was forced to suspend publication (1717).

Then the permission granted to Michael Gottschalk in 1710 was renewed by the Emperor Charles VI, and by King Frederick

[435] L. Oelsner: *R. Sabbathai Bassista und sein Process*, Leipzig, 1858.

[436] *H. B.*, V: 128.

[436a] Rabbinowicz, *Ma'amar*, 94.

[436b] Max Freudenthal, *M. G. W. J.*, 42: 134, and following numbers.

William of Prussia (1715). He thus had sole Talmud privileges for ten years from the date of his original permit, and during this time every one in Germany, Prussia, and Poland was forbidden to possess a copy printed by any other publisher. His edition appeared in Berlin and Frankfort-on-the-Oder between 1715 and 1722; but before it had been completed Rabbi Löw had been granted a permit also, to date from the expiration of that granted to Gottschalk, *i.e.*, from Oct. 13, 1720. Accordingly his edition, including a reprint of the tractates published in Amsterdam, appeared in Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1721.[437] In none of these publications, however, did censorship take on any new form, for the Basle edition was deemed to have furnished all the corrections necessary.[438]

But in works brought out shortly after this an interesting addition was made to the various notes and permissions printed in publications of Mantua (1723), Hamburg, London, and Amsterdam,[439] Berlin (1724),[440] and later in Venice. It is an author's declaration, disclaiming any evil intention in anything which may have been written by him, and generally begins in some form such as this:

LET THIS BE KNOWN IN ALL THE EARTH!

Know thou, my brother and superior, that in every place where thou mayest find in my book, called "The Fear of Isaac," the word *gōi* or *gōyīm*, or other expressions used of non-Christians, such as . . . "it is not permitted to be healed by a *gōi*"; "it is not permitted to be shaved by one"; "the words of the Law are not to be handed down to a *gōi*"; etc.: it is not my intention to speak thus concerning the anointed ones who are called in foreign tongue "Christians"; for they are not idolaters, . . . they believe in the unity of God, etc.[441]

Such notices of good intentions were doubtless accepted elsewhere, but not in Prague. The alertness shown before was maintained, and the Jesuit Bishop Haselbauer made it a regular custom to institute searches in Jewish homes and to confiscate uncensored Hebrew books. An increase in strictness is further shown in the first parts of another Talmud edition, published in that city. A certain Jewish Rabbi, Eibschütz, who was

[437] Rabbinowicz, *Ma'amar*, 88–96.

[438] An Amsterdam edition of the Mishnah, 1721, shows a further mutilation of the well-known abbreviation *'akkūm* into *'akkū*, printed in place of *nokhrīm*, "strangers," "non-Israelites" (*H. B.*, V : 73).

[439] Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 79. The first one noted is in the Mantua *'Arūkh*.

[440] *E. g.*, *Sha'arē Dhūrāh*, 1724.

[441] From the *Pāḥadh Yiṣḥāḳ*, Venice, 1750.

on very friendly terms with the Jesuits, and who was looked upon by the Jews as a heretic, asked permission to print the Talmud, and was granted it[442] by the episcopal censor authorities with the usual conditions. The additional mutilations[443] due to the censors' treatment of this edition aroused so much opposition that the community of Frankfort "collected 100,000 pieces of gold as a bribe to the councilors and priests, in order that they might escape this evil." The remaining tractates printed in Prague contained not only no more omissions than the Basle edition, but even corrections for some of its errors.[444] After this, there is nothing to be recorded in the history of censorship and literary troubles for several years, except in Italy.

CHAPTER XII

CONFISCATIONS AND EXPURGATION IN ITALY DURING THE XVIII CENTURY—THE FRANKISTS IN POLAND—CENSORSHIP IN THE AUSTRIAN PROVINCES—DECLINE OF SPECIAL HEBREW CENSORSHIP—RUSSIA

Although the Roman indices had lately added several Hebrew works to those forbidden,[445] the luxurious indifference of the Italian priests had prevented papal decrees from receiving a ready response; this had secured a measure of immunity to the Jews, who were again correcting their books from censors' changes. But Benedict III, who was a Pope of reforming tendencies, took note of this and sought to make censorship ordinances obeyed[446]; at least in Ancona a confiscation followed, but in answer to an

[442] The censor's notice was printed on the title-page (1728–9).

[443] *E. g.*, *B'rākhōth*, 6 a, the whole passage citing the formula for a preparation which will cause one to see the evil spirits which hover about every one is omitted. In the same passage is an example of many anthropomorphic passages which are omitted; *e. g.*, Rabbi Abin asks: "What bible passage gives proof that God wears the philacteries?"

[444] Rabbinowicz, 99.

[445] In addition to those already mentioned (pp. 69, 90, 102, 110) only Latin translations are recorded, as R. Moses Maimonides' *De Idolatria*, Amsterdam, 1668, forbidden in 1718 (Cp. Reusch, II : 149 ff).

[446] V. & R., II : 236.

appeal the Roman Inquisition ordered the books to be returned (May 5, 1728).[447]

With Clement XII (1730–1740) sternness was still more marked, and at his command a thorough, general confiscation throughout the ghettoes of the Papal States—the first of a long series—was undertaken under the direction of a Dominican, Giovanni Antonio Costanzi (May 28, 1731). The congregations throughout the country, as usual, united in a common petition to the head of the Holy Office, now Mons. Guiseppe Assemani, in whose care were the confiscated works.

In this petition the action of Popes and Cardinals of previous years was cited as permitting the use of these books. By the constitution of Clement VIII and his brief of April 17, 1593,[448] the Old Testament commentaries of Rabbi Solomon, David Ḳimḥi, and other scholars had been allowed, as also by the Congregation of the Index in 1596,[449] and more recently by the head of the Holy Office himself (1728).[450] In addition to this appeal to precedent the Jews urged an appeal to reason: if some passages are doubtful, as Galatinus[451] has said even of the Talmud, the whole work ought not be condemned; and, as a matter of fact, the greater number of passages at which offence has been taken are wrongly suspected. How can a Talmudic portion cited in the name of a pre-Christian commentator refer to Jesus? Or how can the words of one who lived in Babylon during the period of heathen Rome be so construed? Why should the scorn that was heaped upon *ʿabhōdhāh zārāh*, idolatry, always in the spirit of the Prophets themselves, be referred to Christian practices? The *nokhrīm*, heathens, and not Christians, are really referred to in such passages. And in answer to the charge that the Talmudists and rabbis taught hatred of Christians, witness the universal addition by Jews to every mention of Christian names, of the formula *yārōm hᵃdhārō* ("May his honor be exalted!"), and the universal prayer for the welfare of Pope and Cardinal.

[447] From the petition of 1731, mentioned below, (Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 13 ff; from this work, and from the same author's *Geschichte*, II : 93 ff, the entire description of this series of confiscations, with the exception of passages otherwise indicated, has been adapted).

[448] Cp. pp. 74 ff.

[449] Cp. pp. 91 ff.

[450] See above.

[451] A Franciscan of Rendlin's time; see p. 25.

These answers, furthermore, are valid in the case of all confiscated writings, the *Mishnáyōth*, *Rashi*, *Alfāzī*, *Hᵃlākhōth Gᵉdhōlōth*, ritual works and law books like Maimonides' *Yâd ha-ḥᵃzāḳā*, the *Ṭūrīm* and its commentaries, *Bēth Yōsēph*, *Shulḥān ʿArūkh*, *Shᵉʾēlōth u-Thᵉshūbhōth*, *Mᵉnōrath ha-Māʾōr*, *ʿᵃḳedhath Yiṣḥāḳ*, *ʾEn Yaʿᵃḳōbh*, and the *Yalḳūṭ*, which, though mentioned in the Index,[452] had been thus defended and tolerated for a long time. Nor was there any reason to suspect philosophical works like the *Mōrē Nᵉbhūkhīm*, *Milḥᵃmōth ha-shēm*, *Kūzarī*, *ʿIḳḳārīm*, *Ḥōbhōth ha-Lᵉbhābhōth*, and others.

That there is no evil intention in any of these works, the specific declaration of the publisher in each case shows. "Now therefore we beg that . . . you will be pleased to restore to your petitioners the right to use these books after they shall have been corrected in accordance with the *Sēpher ha-ziḳḳūḳ*,[453] a work containing instructions for expurgators, begun in 1594 by a Capuchin Neophyte, finished in 1596 by Pater Domenico Hierosolimitano," etc., "and found to-day in the Vatican Library, No. 273; if it be satisfactory to you, we shall have the *ziḳḳūḳ* copied and distributed."

This petition was given to Antonio Costanzi, with a request for advice in the matter. His answer to the Inquisition was a general denial of the defence offered; the Jews had never been able to prove that works based on the Mishnah did not contain passages directed against Christians; their appeal to the verdict of such men as Reuchlin and Bartalocci was worthless, and, at all events, the Talmud alone had been defended. Clement V, likewise, had permitted only grammatical—not Talmudic—works, as was decided by the Council of Vienne; and as for Galatinus, he had misunderstood, and substituted the word "Talmudic" for "grammatical."[454]

What it was that caused a decision, in spite of this answer, to be given in favor of the Jews, is not known, but nearly all the confiscated books were returned to them; and, the trouble averted, the Jews soon petitioned for the return of the few works kept by Costanzi.[455]

For a short while then they were left in peace, though a

[452] Cp. p. 110, note 419.
[453] Cp. pp. 81 ff.
[454] Cp. p. 15.
[455] Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 21–24.

circular addressed by Cardinal Petra to the other Cardinals in regard to the position of the Jews, and recommending a more lenient policy than Clement XII desired, still provided for the maintenance of censorship according to the rules of the Index.[456] Costanzi then set about to carry these provisions into effect, and to bring out a proper Index Expurgatorius.[457] It soon became the practice again to institute a search through the synagogues and the whole ghetto every few years, but with the same result. As often as confiscated books were examined it was found that, despite the danger, Jews had generally restored censored passages.[458]

The second of this series of searches took place only four years after the first (1738), still in Clement's pontificate; by this time Costanzi had compiled, for the use of censors, a catalogue of forbidden and permitted Hebrew books.[459] That these movements were not confined to papal cities like Ferrara and Ancona is evident from the case of Rabbi Solomon Basilea in Mantua. In June, 1733, he was arrested on the charge of possessing uncensored books, and was imprisoned, though before his case was settled he was brought home ill (1734). During the second movement his case was reopened, and he was condemned, June 23, 1738, to a three years' "house-arrest"; but this confinement was later limited merely to the ghetto.[460]

The events which took place in Italy during the latter half of the XVIII century, as far as book troubles were concerned, were as distressing as they had been at the very beginning of the Reformation. During the pontificate of Benedict XIV (1740–1758) two confiscations took place; for by 1748, the date of the first, the ever-ready Costanzi had prepared a new list of forbidden works, in which some allowed in 1738 were now prohibited.[459] Then, on September 15, 1751, Benedict XIV repeated and made more comprehensive the decree issued in 1732; and soon, learning that books were being smuggled into the ghetto in rolls of cloth, and by other subterfuges, he commanded a general and thorough search to be made; in 1753 all the miseries of 1731, 1738, and 1748 had to be suffered again.

[456] V. & R., 237, 238.
[457] From Costanzi's letter to the Ferara revisors, Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 54.
[458] Berliner, *Geschichte*, II : 93 ff.
[459] Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 25; *R. E. J.*, XXIII : 147.
[460] Mortara, *H. B.*, V : 100.

In Rome, it was on a night in April, 1753, that, after the ghetto gates had been closed, officials entered houses previously marked as suspicious. Outside, at stated intervals on the streets, wagons and carts were stationed under escort; as the books were taken from each house they were placed in a sack with which each searching-party had been provided, the sack was sealed in the presence of two Christian witnesses, and a tag attached with the owner's name. The books were then carried to one of the appointed places, where an official was ready to receive them; and in this way thirty-eight carts were filled from the ghetto of Rome alone.

Giovanni Antonio Costanzi, the censor, had by this time compiled his third index of Hebrew books. It classified them under three heads: those permitted, those permitted with corrections, and those absolutely forbidden. Strangely enough, some placed in the first class in 1738, and in the third class in 1748, were now again transferred to their first position.[463] Twenty different titles were thus left on the list of prohibited works, including, of course, those mentioned in the general Index Librorum Prohibitorum, *e. g.*, *'Ēn Ya'ăḳōbh*, *Bêth Ya' ḳōbh*, *Yalḳūṭ*; two editions of the prayer-book, and Joseph Albo's *Iḳḳārīm*, were added, the last because it disputed the Messiahship of Jesus. But Costanzi's chief aim, in accordance with which he proscribed the *Zōhar*, was directed toward revealing the absurdities of the Cabbalah, to which he gave an equal place with the Talmud. He went further than any of the previous censors in his condemnation, and forbade works which contained merely the names of angels other than such as were mentioned in the Bible. And in the criticisms with which he supported his various decisions, he showed not only the same wilfulness, but also great deficiency in a knowledge of Hebrew.

Of the works confiscated in Rome there were found about 650 volumes (126 different titles) which according to the classification adopted in his index came under the heading "books permitted with corrections." This made an arduous task for the censor, and one which became more difficult because of the violent ob-

[463] See p. 120; *e. g.*, Abravanel (*'Al ha-Tōrah*) was permitted in 1738, forbidden in 1748, and allowed again in 1753; on the other hand the *Zōhar* was allowed in 1738, but forbidden both in 1748 and 1753; while the *Yalḳūṭ Shim'ōnī* (which was apparently on the general index since 1703,—Reusch, II : 148), allowed both in 1738 and 1748, was forbidden in 1753.

jections which the Jews raised to the orderly, leisurely manner in which he set about to perform it. He was ordered to examine immediately such books as were needed for daily service, and return all those which contained nothing objectionable.

The decision was then made to ease the censor's task by returning also books which bore the signature of a previous censor. But when it was pointed out that many had been either imperfectly corrected, or freed from expurgations, it was decided to revise these also, and re-sign them.[464] This was not done with all immediately, for some works had been found for which no provision whatever had been made, and they were retained by Costanzi with those of the third class, in order that he might formulate a special rule for them. And, in addition, because the censor knew well that however thorough the search might have been, many books were still safely concealed, upon the Jews themselves was renewed the responsibility of bringing such works to the censor; then finally a concession was made by permitting the owners of books to censor them in accordance with an example furnished to them.

The confiscation in Rome was but part of a general plan designed to include the whole of papal territory. As soon as Costanzi's work in the capital was completed he undertook to direct similar movements in other cities, and wherever he could not be present in person he ordered detailed reports sent to Rome for his approval. In the case of any report which showed that books had not been classified and treated according to his wishes, he sent further communications minutely describing his motives for classification; *e. g.*, when he found some Talmudic works in the second division which should have been absolutely prohibited by being placed in the third.

The first place outside of Rome in which these general censorship orders were carried out was Lugo, in the province of Ravenna. Here, on the night of Aug. 10, 1753, the vicar of the Inquisition instituted a search, and when the books had been collected Pater Philip Peruzzotti and the Lector Angelo Gabulozzi were appointed revisors.

[464] "Gio. Antonio Costanzi," undated, is found in a copy of the *Shulḥān shel Arba'* (in Columbia) together with the names of Franguellus, Irosolimitano, and Carretto; it may have been censored by him in Rome, or in Ancona (see p. 125). Steinschneider mentions the name also.

Philip Maria Peruzzotti,[465] a member of the "Order of Preachers" in the Dominican convent at Lugo, showed as much zeal in this work as did Costanzi. He, of course, found the signatures of previous censors in the works which he examined, but he trusted in none of them. In his report to Rome he wrote:

"I have noticed the names of various censors in many books, in which nevertheless I have not found a single trace of an erasure; in many others but a single passage of little importance has been expurgated; all of the most offensive passages, and many statements of Talmudic doctrine remain untouched. I deduce from this, either that the revisors' signatures are forged, or that spurious or false indices were used in the examination. I see further evidences of this in the fact that many revisors have signed books forbidden in the first class.[466] So in a copy of *Y'phēh Mar'ēh* I find the signature of Domenico Jeruschalmi of the year 1600 with the later assertion that it was corrected in 1618 according to the bull of Clement VIII. A copy of the *Kaphtōr uphēraḥ* has the signatures of four revisors, Domenico Jeruschalmi, 1597; Alexander Scipio, 1598; Jagel, 1611; and Lorenz Tranquelli, 1575; and although to even the last named the decrees of the earlier popes, Paul IV in 1559, and Pius V, 1566, must have been known, there are only three words crossed out in two or three places, while all the Talmudic allegories and tales deserve to be blotted out.

"I go further in this last opinion of mine; no difference should be made between any book containing various Talmudic tales—which are an insult to the majesty and holiness of God—and all the other books prohibited; as long as they are all composed in the Talmudic spirit, none of them should be returned."

From this letter it can be imagined that Peruzzotti's work was strictly done; it is interesting to find in the long list of books which he considered prohibited two copies of the *Iḳḳārīm*, nine of Jacob Ḥabib's works, four of the *Yalḳūṭ*, four of the *Zōhar* (6 volumes), thirty copies of a prayer-book, containing cabbalistic names, and several other *Mahzōrīm* in the various vernaculars.

The letter which Peruzzotti sent to Rome, however, was not the only expression of his severity; in a copy of a Psalm commentary, already revised (in the few passages which could in any way be construed to need revision) by Fra Luigi da Bologna, 1599, Camillo Jagel, 1613, and Renatus da Bologna, 1626, Peruzzotti added to his signature the warning: "By order and command of the highest tribunal, it should be noted that at whatever time any censored passage may be found replaced in this book, regardless of the question to whom this may be due, the holder of this book will be fined 100 scudi." This notice is countersigned "Rabbino Jacchia affmo et obligo quanto supra."[467]

[465] Spelled F. Fillipo Peruzzaldi in *H. B.*, V: 100.

[466] According to Costanzi's Index (Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 57), forbidden works were those of the *third* class.

[467] Mortara, *H. B.*, V: 100.

After Lugo a confiscation was undertaken in Pesaro, Aug. 31, 1753, in accordance with instructions from the Inquistor of Rimini; the confiscated books were given for revision to Dr. Andre Tassini, who forbade the reading of a few of them entirely, but returned the remaining 765 volumes, already censored, without any list.

About three weeks later the Inquisitor of Ferrara laid careful plans for a thorough night search in that city, and the books collected as a result of the successful execution of these plans on Sept. 24, were given to Pater Tomasso Ruffini and his assistant, a neophyte named Guido Venturini. In all they examined ninety-nine works consisting of about 820 volumes, of which seventeen works belonged to the class of those absolutely forbidden; two they reserved to send to Rome for decision, because the authors were Talmudists; eighty works they returned. Before this result was reached they had spent some time in the examination, and on Dec. 19, 1753, they had written to Rome for permission to return certain cabbalistic works to their owners because proof existed in them of the truth of Christian doctrines. Costanzi's answer directed them to examine very carefully the passages they had in mind, as there was likelihood that they were intended to express some secret heretical idea. That this request of the revisors was not due to any leaning toward leniency, however, is shown by their desire to prohibit all of Abravanel's works because in one he had expressed certain offensive ideas; this Costanzi forbade, because other Rabbis' entire writings would then also have to be put in ban, and no one had as yet laid down such a principle. It was in this letter also that attention was called by the chief censor to changes made in the various indices of Hebrew books.[468]

Urbino was the next city to suffer; on Oct. 5, 1753, the Archbishop directed the confiscation, while Pater Parcicciani had been appointed by the tribunal of Rome as revisor. In his report he indicated forty-eight confiscated works which had been revised, signed, and stamped as late as 1681; all but one of these (the second part of the *Yalḳūṭ*), he returned; the *Yalḳūṭ* he placed, with certain papers and pamphlets which had been collected, in charge of the archbishop to await the decision of the Congregation of the Index; this was soon given in the case of the papers, which were ordered to be burnt.

[468] See p. 121.

In the ghetto of Ancona, where the confiscation took place on Oct. 16, Costanzi directed the seizures in person. He brought the books to the office of the Inquisition, and in a few days returned twenty-one works as belonging in the first (not suspected) class; he then corrected single copies of seven different works belonging to the second class, and sent them back with other copies of the same works to the ghetto, and ordered that these be similarly expurgated. Six other works, which he did not have time to examine, he took back to Rome with him. In another city of the Province of Ancona, Sinigallia, a search was held on Jan. 29 of the following year, and a neophyte named Rossi was deputized to revise Hebrew books according to copies brought from the ghetto of Ancona.

At the very beginning of this movement (Aug. 4, 1753), Cardinal Corsini had written to the Archbishop of Carpentras[469] in forming him of the Commission's purpose, and demanding action by him. This order had been neglected, but was later repeated on April 13, 1754,[470] and on Aug. 5 was carried into effect in Avignon, Carpentras, Cavaglione, and Lilla. In Avignon the Inquisitor began his search through the ghetto at about four o'clock in the morning; and as a report of his work he sent on Sept. 4 to Rome three lists[471]; one, of books which should not be returned; a second, of their owners; and a third, of the books contained in three bundles which a Jew arrested in Carpentras had with him. In the books of the first list were mentioned copies of *Ḥizzūḳ 'mūnāh*, a work which had been placed in the third class of forbidden books. Concerning these, Costanzi secured an order from the tribunal at Rome, addressed to the Inquisition at Avignon, demanding their delivery at Rome, and the immediate prosecution of the owners.

[469] Carpentras, though in France, fifteen miles northeast of Avignon, continued to be administered, together with Avignon and the district of Venaissin, by a papal legate until the closing decade of the XVIII century.

[470] *R. E. J.*, XXIII : 148.

[471] A list dated August 12, 1754, is mentioned as a report of the work done in Carpentras; it bears the signatures of Duplessis and Noyet, ecclesiastical commissioners ("prêtre-commissaire"), and of Joseph de Meyrargues and Isaiah Samuel Carmi in Hebrew (*R. E. J.*, XXIII : 148).

In connection with France it might be proper to add a note which Neubauer records from a MS. in the Bodleian, and concerning which no other information is accessible: "No. 1628 : Mesnil, 1763 (Paraphe au désir de l' arrest du 5 Juillet, 1763)."

After all this work was completed, Costanzi was in a position to revise the now inadequate *Sēpher ha-ziḳḳūḳ*, and he was given a commission for this task by Benedict XIV. His plan included not only an extension of the Index, but a translation of it into Latin. His introduction for such an Index Expurgatorius exists together with his treatment of several works not mentioned in the *ziḳḳūḳ*, but now provided for in a manner entirely similar.[472] In this introduction a new threefold classification of all Hebrew books is made: I. The Scriptures, "always accepted and praised by the Catholic Church"; II. The two Talmuds, "which various Popes, beginning with Gregory IX. had condemned and consigned to the flames"; III. Books dealing with religious ceremonies, and explaining the Bible. The third division was again divided into three classes: 1. Such as the Jew might correct himself; 2. Such as must be censored by a churchman; 3. Such as are entirely forbidden. The author's intention, however, of compiling a complete Index[473] was never carried out, although occasion would soon have been found for using it.[474]

But before the effects of this movement had disappeared and the Italian communities were subjected to another persecution, the Jews in Poland were brought into trouble because of the Frankists. The Frankists, named after their leader, Jacob Frank, were a Jewish sect of anti-Talmudists who followed the *Zōhar*, and who declared before Bishop Dembowski that they were almost Christians, inasmuch as they believed in the Trinity. Then, though there were many Rabbis among them, they brought charges against the Talmud, and claimed that because of its precepts Jews used the blood of Christian children in their ceremonies. In order that they might prove this, they urged the Bishop to institute a disputation between them and the Talmudists, and when they had incited the people by printing their charges in Hebrew and Polish, and distributing their pamphlets

[472] The MS. was "finished on June 16, 1758, by Gus. Assemani."

[473] In 1755 another Hebrew work was prohibited by special edict: *Sh^ephar Sēpher T^ehillīm* ("Beauty of the Book of Psalms"), together with the *Shimmūsh T^ehillīm* ("Use of the Psalms"), Mantua, 1714; it taught the methods for preparing the Psalms as amulets, etc. (Reusch, II : 149). Cp. also *Z. D. M. G.*, 42 : 456. In the regular Index published by Benedict XIV in 1758, the Talmud is not found in the alphabetic list, because it is provided for in one of the introductory rules (Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 8).

[474] Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 50.

broadcast, the Archbishop consented and ordered the disputation under penalty of burning the Talmud.

This decree found the Rabbis without any plan of defence, and when they appeared to refute the charges, (June 20, 1757), they failed to win over the Bishop. Accordingly, on Oct. 14, the order was given that copies of the Talmud should be confiscated wherever found and consigned to the flames. It was useless for the Jews to appeal to King August III. of Poland, or his prime-minister, Count Brühl, for they were busied in the Seventy Years' War. So a search was instituted by the officers of the church, the police, and the Frankists, without opposition, and all books except the Bible and *Zōhar* were confiscated; in all, 1000 copies were thrown into a ditch and burnt. Daily visits were then regularly made to the houses of the Jews in search for additional books, and the movement soon spread to Lemberg, where Dembowski was also Archbishop.

Fortunately for the Jews, however, the Bishop died a sudden and unnatural death (Nov. 1757). The fickle populace, at first struck dumb with terror, soon turned their enmity against the Frankists and forced them to flee. An edict of 1758 from August III. secured their return and their rise to power for a short while; but when Frank was at last convicted and imprisoned as an intriguer and deceiver, his followers fell again into disfavor with the Christians, and were forced into beggary.[476]

Just about this time Pope Benedict XIV. died, and neither the meek and affable Clement XIII., (1758–1769),[477] nor the accomplished Clement XIV. (1769–1774) saw any necessity of further confiscations. When Pius VI. became Pope in 1775 his natural disposition toward liberality gave grounds for expecting a like leniency. But the Jesuit troubles, and the necessity for sternness in suppressing ecclesiastical disorders soon

[476] Graetz, X,427.

[477] Though in 1766 the Inquisition forbade the reading of another Hebrew work the *Valḳūt Reʾūbhēnī* (Reusch, II : 149), which, according to Wolf. I, 1011 (cp. Steinschneider, *Catalogus*, 2138), was a collection of subjects ("loci Communes") gathered from various writings and arranged for the use of preachers by R. Reuben ben Ḥashḳi, one of a family of rabbis in Prague; this work was published in Prague, 1660. A second work by the same author, the *Valḳūṭ Reʾūbhēni ha-Gādhōl*, containing a collection of difficult passages from the Pentateuch, with their expositions taken from various writings (generally cabbalistic), was printed first in Wilmersdorf, 1681, then in Amsterdam, 1700.

produced an absolute change in him. On April 5, 1775, he renewed the restrictions imposed by the decree of Clement XIV., and no later than October of that year he issued another edict which has been called "the blackest page in the history of mankind."[479] Of its forty-four articles which restricted the Jew with minute laws for almost his every action, it is necessary here to mention only the first seven which deal with books. In these rules it was forbidden to have, read, sell, write, copy, translate, give, or in any way handle the "godless Talmudic codices, or other condemned, faithless cabbalistic works, or any which contain errors of faith," etc. Seizure of the books in question, confiscation of property, and extremely severe punishments of other kinds were prescribed for the violation of this provision.

Under similar penalties the Jews were forbidden in any way to explain or teach, openly or privately, such errors as were contained in the classes of works mentioned, and Christians were likewise ordered not to aid in the violation of either rule. As for writings not condemned in the indices, no book should in any way be held in possession without having first been taken to the Master of the Sacred Palace for approval; all Bishops and Inquisitors were ordered to be constantly on the watch to detect violations of this law, which were to be punished by a fine of 100 scudi and seven years' imprisonment. Christians who delivered any book to a Jew without a permit from the Master of the Sacred Palace or from a Bishop and Inquisitor, or who received one from a Jew without giving notice to the authorities, were likewise liable to excommunication and other punishments.[480]

The miseries which resulted from the publication of this edict —and those connected with books were the least of them—had hardly been forgotten when Pius VI, in January, 1793, caused a new infliction by re-enacting the same measure.[481] But upon this Pope's death in 1798, Rome and the Papal States were proclaimed a Republic, and there came alleviation; in 1808 the French took possession, and entire liberty was accorded to the Jews. In 1810 for the first time since 1547, a Hebrew book was printed in Rome,—bearing, of course, the *imprimatur* "col permisso."[482]

[479] Berliner, *Geschichte*, II : 107 ; V. & R., II : 251, 252.
[480] Berliner, II, 107–119.
[481] Berliner, II, 120.
[482] Berliner, II, 137.

Though since that time the old spirit of intolerance has re-asserted itself occasionally—notably in 1827 [483]—there were no new developments in censorship; and in countries outside of Italy, with the exception of Russia and perhaps the Austrian provinces, a more enlightened view of Jewish culture gradually brought the history of special Hebrew censorship to a close in the last quarter of the XVIII. century.

The reference to the Austrian provinces is merely for the purpose of mentioning several "censors of Hebrew books" whose appointment was nevertheless in accordance with the general censorship laws of the Empire.[484] Already on January 16, 1744, an edict of the Empress Maria Theresa had ordered the Jesuit Father in Olmütz, the ecclesiastical center of Moravia, to exercise censorship over all Hebrew books printed in the province.[484a] But in 1790 the Chief Rabbi ("Landesrabbiner") of Nickolsbürg was appointed to the office; and in 1811 Brünn, one of the cities in this province, was provided with a special "Hebrew translator." [485] In Prague, also, special "censors, revisors, and translators" were appointed; as late as 1786,[486] Leopold Trisch Cæsareo acted in that capacity, and at least from 1791 to 1831, Carolus Fischer.[486a]

If the duties of these officers were merely formal, the same thing was not true of the censors [487] appointed in the various Russian cities which support Hebrew presses. Here censorship was, and is still, strict, but one or two illustrations only will be necessary to show the similarity in principle with the censorship of XVI. century Italy; in absurdity, however, the earlier work has been at times completely surpassed. That the Talmud published in Wilna,

[483] V. & R., II, 363.

[484] In 1782, the Emperor Joseph had granted equal rights to the Jews; in 1790, however, a reaction set in which did not really end till after the middle of the present century.

[484a] *H. B.*, VI : 39.

[485] *H. B.*, V : 128. Whether there was a special censor in the Austrian crownland of Galicia also is not made plain from the notice, "Printed with permission of the censor, Feb. 20, 1828," in the *Sēpher P'ri M'gādhīm*, Lemberg.

[486] *E. g.*, *Sēpher 'Ereṣ Sh'bhī*.

[486a] Cp. *Sēpher 'Iyyōbh* and *Sēpher ha-Sh'ārīm*.

[487] Two of the Russian censors were Jacob Tugenhold (b. 1791–d. 1871) director of the "Rabbiner-Schule" in Warsaw, and censor there; and Wladimir Fédorow (before apostacy called Grünberg), "Gymnasiallehrer," and censor in Kiew, then in Warsaw (Zeitlin, *Bibliotheca Hebraica Post-Mendelsohniana*, Leipzig, 1891–1895, pp. 82 and 400.)

1835, should have omitted many passages supplied in the Frankfort and Amsterdam editions, and that the publishers should have been prohibited from leaving the places blank or calling attention to the omissions by various printer's devices which had gradually come into use, are intelligible [488]; the changes noted in the Wilna prayer-book of 1840, of *gōi* to *kūthī*, and the further explanation that reference is intended to the ancient worshippers of the stars, are familiar; a decided novelty, however, is presented in the offence taken at a Bible verse: "Strangers shall have no portion with thee"; and in a passage dealing with the laws in Exodus it is remarked eleven times that to-day these laws of government are invalid.[489]

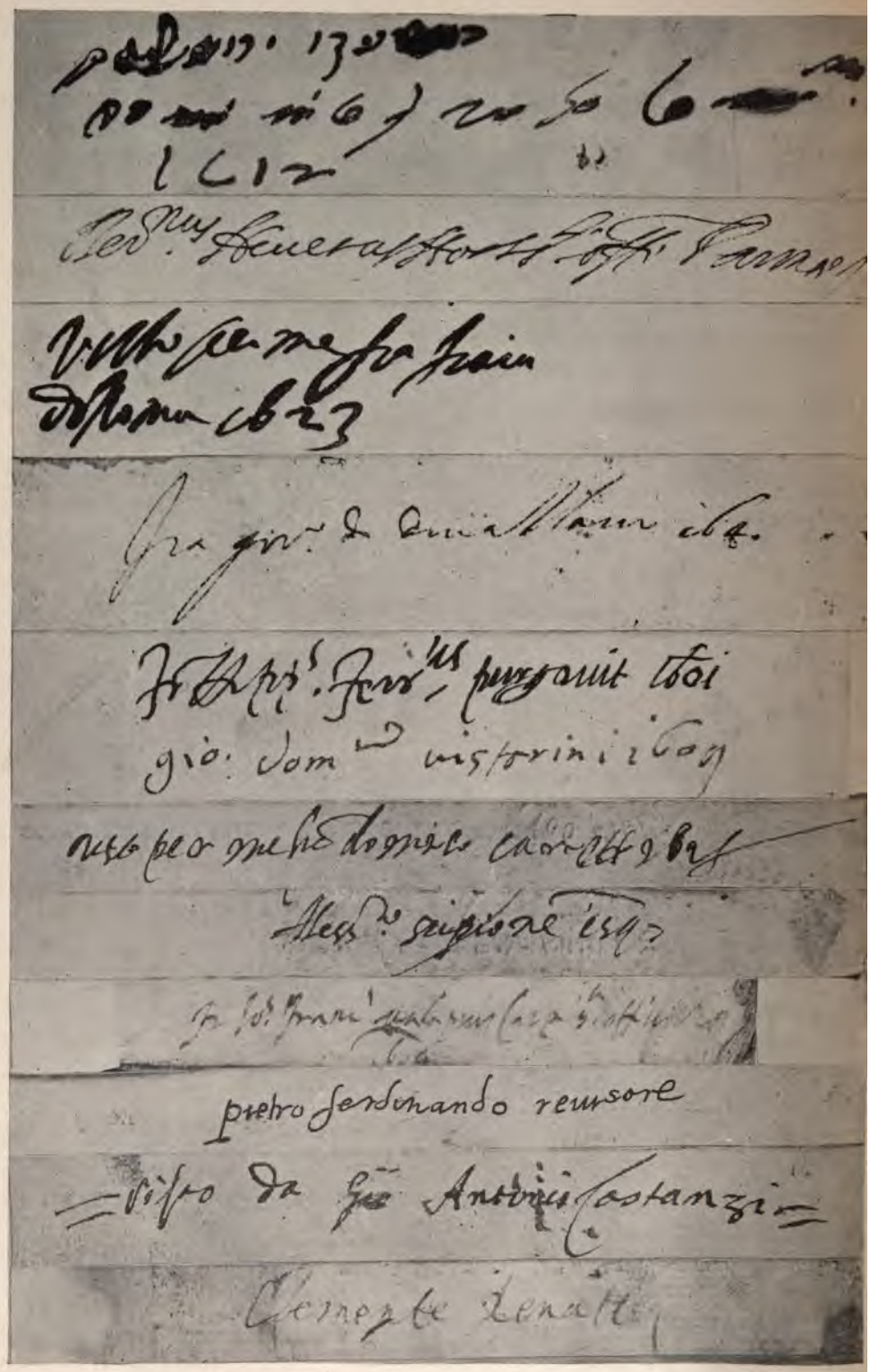
Utterly ridiculous and senseless are changes like that of *shebhʿkhūmārīm* (*kūmārīm*, "priests") to *shebhʿmalbūshēhem* (*malbūsh*, "clothes")[490]; and of *mīn ḳʿtaniyōth* ("a kind of peas," *mīn* "kind" being identical in form with *mīn* "heretic") into *ʿakkūm ḳʿtaniyōth!* Similar absurdities have arisen from the change of the word *Yāvan* (Greece, used to designate the Byzantine Empire), turning "the Greek language," and "Greek philosophy," into "language and philosophy of those who worship the stars."[491] Finally, one example, resulting from the Turkish war in 1830, when *gōi* (either "nation" in general, as *gōi ḳādhōsh* "the holy nation," or "non-Israelite" in particular) supposedly a word used in a deprecatory sense, instead of being changed to *ʿakkūm*, became *yishmāʾēl* ("Ishmaelite," "Arab," or "Turk"). In the prayer *Shōmēr Yisrāʾēl* (guardian of Israel) occurs the verse:

> "Guardian of the holy people (*gōi ḳādhōsh*),
> Guard the remnant of thy holy nation,
> Nor let a holy people perish."

An ignorant censor, following strictly the rules given him, has unwittingly made of himself a Balaam by substituting these lines:

> "Guardian of the holy Turks,
> Guard the remnant of the Turks,
> Nor leave the holy Turks to perish!" [492]

[488] Rabbinowicz, 117.
[489] Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, III : 240.
[490] In the *Sēpher ha-ḥʿsīdhīm*, Sidelkow, 1832.
[491] In the Slawita Talmud.
[492] Berliner, *Gang Durch. Bib. Italiens*, 30.



(PHOTOGRAPHED FROM BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY [1])

1. *Domīnīķō Y'rūshalmī*
   Dominico Irosolimitano
   (Abravanel, *Pērūsh ha-Tōrāh*, Venice, 1584, Vol. 3).

2. Rev[erendissi]mus Heuesas Ho [. . . ?] d[e] offi[cio] Parmæ
   (*Sēpher Sha'ᵃrē Dīm'āh*, Venice, 1586).

3. Visto per me Fr. Isaia da Roma 1623
   (*Mishnēh Tōrāh*, Venice, 1574, Vol. 2).

4. Fra. Gir[olamo] da Durallano, 1640
   (Nachman, *Pērūsh ha-Tōrāh*, Naples, 1490).

5. Fra. Hipp[olitu]s Ferr[arens]is purgavit 1601
   (*Sēpher Mikhtām Lᵉdhāwīdh*, Venice, 1550).

6. Gio[vanni] Dom[eni]co Vistorini, 1609
   (*Idem*).

7. Visto per me Gio[vanni] Domi[ni]co Carretto 1618
   (*Pērūsh Mishnath 'Abhōth*, Soncino, 1484).

8. Aless[and]ro Scipione 1597
   (*Sēpher ha-Mūsār*, Constantinople, 1537).

9. P[ater] Jos. Pari[us] Valapius (?) Carpi s[anc]ti officij. 1604
   (*Sēpher Mikhtām Lᵉdhāwīdh*, Venice, 1550).

10. Pietro Ferdinando revisore
    (*Pērūsh Rashi 'al ha-Tōrāh wᵉ'al Hᵃmēsh Mᵉghillōth*, Venice, 1545).

11. Visto da Gio[vanni] Antonio Costanzi
    (*Shulḥān shēl 'Arbā'*, Mantua, 1514).

12. Clemente Renatto
    (*Tᵉphillōth Latīni*, Bologna, 1538).

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[1] No. 2 in the New York Public Library. No. 10 reproduced from a tracing.

APPENDIX

EVIDENCE FOR THE DATES AND LOCATIONS OF THE VARIOUS ITALIAN CENSORS AND EXPURGATORS

To assign the activity of the various censors at certain dates to definite places is a matter often of much difficulty and uncertainty. There are but few documents in which any such data are furnished; and but very rarely have censors added to their signatures in books the name of the place in which they were at work; at times they have omitted even the date. Fortunately, however, many single books were signed by several censors, who worked, apparently, at different times in the same localities; signatures, therefore, often fall into well-defined groups, certain names being found regularly together, and never, or very seldom, with others.

When any set of names and dates is sufficiently constant, it may, perhaps, be taken for granted that the censors who signed them were all, at the dates indicated, active in the same place. The identity of that place being then positively known from other sources in regard to one of the censors, the others may be assigned to that place also.

The value of this evidence, of course, increases in proportion to the constancy and frequency with which these sets of names are found; where a set occurs but once or twice, since books are easily carried from one place to another, there is always the possibility that one name was signed in one place, another in another; but the same fact must be remembered when the signatures in one or two books seem to contradict the results obtained from a large number. In this thesis most of the dates are taken from between 75 and 100 books in the Columbia University Library which were signed by censors, from the list of censors in Neubauer's *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Bodleian*, from Steinschneider's list in *H. B.*, vol. V, and from Gustave Sacerdote's article in *R. E. J.*, 30 : 279.

CENSORS OF MANTUA

§ 1. As a starting-point in this comparison of signatures, that of Giovanni Domenico Carretto may be used, for it is known that by May 19, 1618, he was already established as censor in the Duchy of Mantua (Mortara, H. B., V : 100), and since books signed by him in 1617 and 1619 contain the same other signatures as do those signed in 1618, there is no reason to doubt that his duties in that place extended over these years; one MS. at least, signed by him in 1617, bears the note that it was sold in Mantua in 1641 (Neub. No. 417).

§ 2. Out of 55 books and MSS. recorded as signed by him in 1617–1619, 42 were signed by other censors also, and of these, omitting doubtful cases, 29 contain one or more of a set of names as follows:

26, Domenico Irosolimitano (12 dated 1597, 14 undated).

8, (not excluding those which have Irosolimitano also) Alessander Scipio (4, 1597, 3 undated, 1 date doubtful).

4, Luigi da Bologna (1597).

6, Isaiah of Rome (1623).

Other names, and these names with other dates, do not occur frequently enough to be of significance here. If the supposition made above concerning the conclusions to be drawn from the coincidence of these names be correct, the five censors mentioned in this table should have been in Mantua at the dates indicated.

§ 3. There is other evidence making these conclusions almost certain in regard to Irosolimitano and Scipio; a document in Mantua (Stern, I 65, No. 158) records that in 1595 these two censors, together with Laurentius Franguellus, were appointed a commission there in 1595; and notwithstanding that they must have corrected many books, comparatively few are found signed by them in 1595 or 1596 (Sacerdote mentions a copy of *Ḥōbhōth ha-Lᵉbhābbōth*, Irosolimitano, 1596, and two in Columbia University Library were possibly signed by him in 1595, though the date is indistinct); in all probability, therefore, the many books signed in 1597 and undated are the work of this commission.

§ 4. In the table of names given above only such books and MSS. were taken into account as were signed by Carretto; there were, of course, some corrected in 1597 which at the time of Carretto's appointment had been already taken out of the state, or were not presented to him. In the following table all of the 56 works recorded as signed by Domenico Irosolimitano (21 in 1597, 35 undated, including those mentioned in the first table) are summarized:

6 signed by him alone;

19 were signed by Aless. Scipio between 1593–1597;

4 by Luigi da Bologna;

3 by Isaiah of Rome.

§ 5. These figures are very significant in the case of Aless. Scipio, for beside the nineteen cases noted in this table as signed also by Irosolimitano, only three others are recorded; in one of these Gio. Domenico Carretto's name occurs; and the second, though signed by no one else, bears the name of the place, Mantua, where it still was in 1700 (Neub. 132).

§ 6. In regard to the date 1593 with Scipio's name, the Mantuan letter mentioned above states that this censor had been in Mantua before 1595, and a receipt signed by him in 1590 shows that for the year 1589–1590, at least, he was the regularly appointed censor for that place.

§ 7. Again, in the case of Luigi da Bologna (1597), beside the four works which Irosolimitano and Carretto also signed, there is but one instance recorded of his signature and this date; it is a MS. signed by no one else, written in Mantua, though a whole century before this time (Neub. 1071).

§ 8. Finally, in addition to the six cases in which the name of Isaiah of Rome was found with that of Carretto (which include two with Luigi da Bologna, 1597, and three with Irosolimitano, 1597), there is but one other recorded with his name, and in this no other censor's name is found.

§ 9. It is, therefore, fairly certain that Domenico Irosolimitano when he signed books in 1595–1597 (though omitting to sign the date very often),

Alessandro Scipio in 1589–1597,

Luigi da Bologna in 1595–1597,

Giovanni Domenico Carretto in 1617–1619, and

Isaiah of Rome in 1623,

were in Mantua; with such a conclusion it is easy to understand how, *e. g.*, the first volume of Maimonides' *Mīshnēh Tōrāh* (Venice, 1574), or a copy of Naḥman's *Tōrath ha-'Adhām* in Columbia Library, should contain the signatures Domenico

Irosolimitano, 1597, Fra Luigi da Bologna, 1597, Gio. Dominico Carretto, 1618, and Fra Isaiah of Rome, 1623; or that Naḥman's *Bi'ūrīm Yāsadh* should have been corrected by Irosolimitano in 1597, Alessander Scipio in 1597, and Gio. Dominico Carretto in 1618.

CENSORS OF REGGIO MODENA.

§ 10. A second set of names which occurs constantly is

Camillo Jagel, 1613;
Renatus da Modena, 1626;
Luigi da Bologna, 1598–1602;
Girallamo da Durallano, 1640–1641.

Of 22 cases with the signature Camillo Jagel, 1613, 5 have no other signature, 12 out of the remaining 17 contain that of Renatus da Modena, 9 that of Luigi da Bologna (1598–1602 or undated), and 3 Gir. da Durallano.

§ 11. Or, if the set be examined from the standpoint of Renatus da Modena, of 18 books and MSS. containing his signature (not excluding those mentioned above) 1 was signed by him in 1620 alone; 2 in 1621, and by Luigi da Bologna in 1599 (1 of these in addition has the signature of Camillo Jagel, 1613); and 15 in 1626,—1 alone, and 11 by Camillo Jagel, 1613 (of which 5 were signed by Luigi da Bologna also, 1598–1599).

§ 12. Or, Luigi of Bologna, 1598–1602, is recorded 46 times, of which 26 contain no other signature; of the remaining 20, 9 have Camillo Jagel's signature (some of these also with Renato of Modena), 2 more have Renato of Modena, and 1 has Prospero Ruggieri of Reggio.

§ 13. Durallano's name has been noted only three times in Columbia and the Bodleian; Steinschneider has the note: "1641, (Fra) Gerolamo da Durallano, found in many books after Renato," etc.

§ 14. To the place of activity of these censors, a clue is furnished by a letter written on March 8, 1602, to the Inquisitor of Modena, ordering him to warn the people of Carpi (within a few miles of the city of Modena) and other places not to trust to the revision of their books previously undertaken by Aloisio da Bononia, *i. e.*, Luigi da Bologna; while a MS. copy of the *Be'ēr Mayim Ḥayyīm* in Columbia, signed by him in 1599 (and by Jagel in 1613) has the name *Ḳarpi* written in it. Furthermore, in a MS. (Neub. 711) his name dated 1598 is found together with that of Gio. Monni, Inquisitor of Modena (undated—with Camillo Jagel, 1613, also). This is evidence that Luigi of Bologna was very likely in Modena sometime between 1597 and 1602, and more particularly in Carpi, 1599.

§ 15. In one book in Columbia there is found the inscription: "Reviso et corretto per mi, Fra Luigi da Bologna del 1602, in Reggio" (*Sh^e'ēlōth u-Th^eshbūhōth*, Venice, 1545); and in a MS. (Neub. 354) this name and date are found together with that of Prospero Ruggieri of Reggio, 1669; Luigi da Bologna was therefore in Reggio in 1602.

§ 16. This coupling together of Modena and Reggio is very natural, since both places were in the possession of one house, that of Este, at the head of which was Don Cæsar from 1597 to 1628. The inference, then, is that each of the four censors in the above-mentioned set was active in various places throughout Modena-Reggio; only in the case of Luigi of Bologna is it possible to locate his activity more exactly. In the case of Renato of Modena (1626) support is given to this inference by the fact that in 1626 he dedicated to the Duke of Reggio and Modena a revision of the *Sēpher ha-zikḳūḳ* (Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 59).

§ 17. It must be noted, however, in the case of Luigi da Bologna, that a letter was also sent to the Jews of Ancona in 1602 (*R. E. J.*, XXX : 279) warning them against his expurgations ; it is necessary, then, to suppose that he left his work in Modena for a while ; and the fact that 19 out of the 30 books and MSS. signed by him in 1599 and 1600—an extraordinarily large percentage—have no other signature, may be explained in part from the infrequency with which Hebrew books in Ancona, in the XVI and XVII centuries, was subjected to censorship.

HIPPOLITUS OF FERRARA AND GIO. VISTORINI

§ 18. The third set of names consists of only two : Hippolitus of Ferrara, 1601, 1621, and Giovanni Vistorini, 1609. Hippolitus of Ferrara is recorded 15 times with these dates and once undated, and in 8 of these cases no other censor's name is found, but 7 of the remaining 8 contain also Vistorini's name (five dated 1609, two 1620) ; in addition there are but 6 which have the latter's name, 2 of these standing alone, the remainder with various other names.

§ 19. There is no satisfactory evidence as to the place of activity of these two censors, while one book (*Sēpher Mikhtam l^eDhāwīdh*, Venice, 1550) offers a very perplexing collocation of names :

Hippolitus of Ferrara, 1601 ;
Jos. Parius (?) of Carpi, 1604 ;
Gio. Domenico Vistorini, 1609 ;
Renatus da Modena, 1626 ;
Gir. da Durallano (?)

This book, it will be noticed, was in Carpi, ten miles north of Modena, in 1604, three years after having been signed by Hippolitus ; in 1626 it was still (or again ?) in the territory of Modena. The natural inference would be that it had remained in the same place in the meanwhile, and that therefore Vistorini, who signed it during that period (1609), was then in Modena. It is of course possible that in 1601, when Hippolitus signed the book, it was outside of Modena, and was brought there before 1604, when it was signed in Carpi ; but it is more probable that where Vistorini was in 1609, Hippolitus was in 1601. On the supposition that Hippolitus (1601) and Vistorini (1609) were both of Modena, the coincidence of names becomes clear in respect to this one case ; but the difficulty then arises in regard to all the other books which they revised, in not one of which do the names of other Modena censors occur. It is possible that Hippolitus and Vistorini were special censors at these dates in some particular part of Modena near Carpi which at other times fell under the jurisdiction of the general state censors. Or perhaps they were active in some neighboring state, in Piacenza, *e. g.*, and this particular book was brought to Carpi at various times. Omitting this one case, there would have been a strong temptation to suggest Tuscany as the scene of their activity, for the Duke of that state is known to have appointed a censor commission before 1601, the members of which are not named.

CENSORS OF SAVOY

§ 20. Hier. Carolus is probably intended in *H. B.*, V : 125 : "1582, Fr. (Jo ?) hier. (Hieronymus or Hierosol ?) caratus ? jng. tor". Neubauer has found the name in one MS.; and a copy of *Mar'ōth' ^elōhīm*, by Ḥanoch ben Solomon (Kostantini), in Columbia has the name written apparently "*hier. caralus.*" It has seemed best to call him Inquisitor of Asti, for in all three cases he adds the title "Inquisitor," and in the

Columbia inscription it is followed by a proper name, the first two letters of which are A S, and the whole might be "*Astensis*," followed by "*Feb., 1582*," though it is more like "*Ashine, 15 Feb., 1582.*" Still the Bodleian MS. was copied in Asti, as an inscription reads, in 1581, and finished only on Oct. 9; and additional evidence for Asti is furnished by the following name:

§ 21. Boniforte del Asinari. Steinschneider places this censor before 1582, probably because his name appears on the page just above some other signature with this date; this is the relative position of his name to that of Hier. Carolus in the *Mar'ōth 'ᵉlōhīm* mentioned above. In addition, Neubauer records four MSS. in which this name occurs, always undated, and three times with the name of Alexander Longus. Two of these MSS. were likewise copied in Asti, one in 1547, the other in 1581. This makes it pretty certain not only that these two men belonged in Asti, but shows that Boniforte del Asinari was at work in 1581 or after, most likely in 1582. The relation of Boniforte del Asinari to this Inquisitor, expressed on page 66, is then quite possible. Whether his work was confined to this one time or place is made doubtful by the following name, which offers additional evidence for Asti in the above-mentioned reading.

§ 22. Alexander Longus, which is found in the same book in Columbia mentioned above; the inscription reads: "B. P. F. Alexr Longus Inq. Montisreg. [. . . ?] 1590 24 Aug. et F. Dionysius Sturlatus (?) Vics jussu ipsius"; *i. e.*, "Alexander Longus, Inquisitor of Monreale, [. . . ?] Aug. 24, 1590, and Fra. Dionysius Sturlatus, Vicar, by his order." Concerning Monreale, this is apparently not the well-known city in Sicily, but a place which Bischoff's *Wörterbuch der alt., mitt. u. neu Geographie* alone mentions, "in Liguria [*i. e.*, Southern Piedmont], the seat of a bishopric"; this is in the immediate neighborhood of Asti. Four MSS. also in the Bodleian have the name Alex. Longus, all undated (in one Neubauer read Montesinegalis (= Montis regalis ?)), one of them with no other name, three, as stated, with Boniforte del Asinari. The possibilities are that the last named was (1590) in Monreale, or that he was there in 1582, or that the MSS. in question, having been censored by him in Asti (1582), were all part of one library (three of them at least were copied by the same scribe), were later brought to Monreale, and signed there by Alex. Longus.

JACOB GERALDINO

§ 24. Concerning Jacob Geraldini a letter sent from Venice to the Inquisition at Rome some time in the latter part of the XVI or early in the XVII century states that many years before, when the Roman Inquisition had decided to have all Hebrew books corrected and expurgated, Jacob Geraldino was appointed to this task (Stern, No. 160). From the fact that the letter declares also that the corresponding duties in Venice had been entrusted to a certain committee, and that a letter in Milan in 1558 states that a certain other censor was sent to that place (Stern, No. 115), it may be inferred that the appointment of Geraldino was to papal territory alone. How long his duties there continued, cannot be decided; it is certain, however, that he was at work in 1555 from the following evidence:

Steinschneider's inscription (see note 120, p. 40);

§ 25. Neubauer: "Geraldini, anno. MDLV, 16 Dec." (Nos. 255 and 1372.1). The reading of another name is indicated as doubtful, *i. e.*, "Jacobus Gentiline, 1555" (No. 635)—this should very likely also be Geraldino. Another name, also a doubtful reading, is "Jacobus Pola, 1554" (No. 1988); if this date is correctly given, together with one or two other doubtful readings which will be indicated below (see § 29), it offers the only evidence for censorship before 1555.

§ 26. In Columbia, two printed books have the name Jacob Geraldino, one of which is a copy of Solomon ben Melekh's *Mikhlal Yōphī*, the signature being found on the title-page; the greater part of the inscription here has been torn off, and only the name remains; but as the work was printed in Constantinople in 1554, it is safe to assume that not earlier than 1555 could it have been sold, transported to Italy, and found by the censor.

§ 27. In the second book (on the title-page), Naḥman's *Pērūsh ha-Tōrāh*, there is an indistinct inscription, which seems to be: "subsignavi ego Guidus Menotius Regieñ not^{s} de man^{to} B^{d} Jac Geraldini comiss'r ap'lici et ducalis die 8 Martij, 1556." The date is very plain (see plate IV, No. 6).

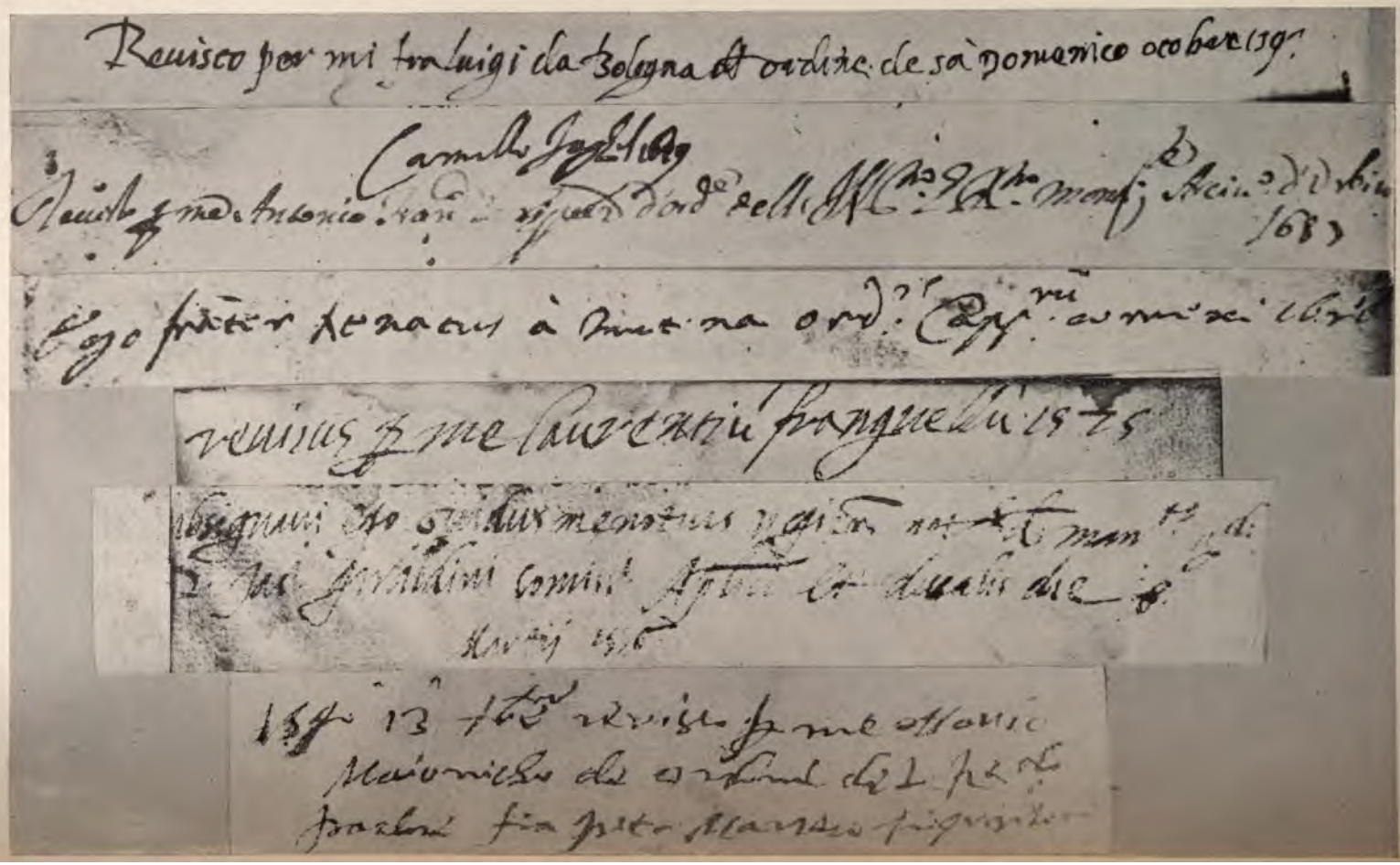
§ 28. The other names occurring together with Jacob Geraldini are as follows:

H. B., VI : 68.	Neub., No. 255.
Cæsar Belliosus.	Cæsar Belliosus, 1553.
	Camillo Jagel, 1613.
Neub., No. 1372.1.	Laurent. Franguellus, 1575.
Cæsar Belliosus, undated.	Luigi da Bologna, 1598.
Gio. Dom. Carretto, 1618.	Renato da Modena, 1626.
Neub., No. 635.	Columbia.
[Jacobus Gentiline (?), 1555.]	Laurentius Franguellus, 1575.
Aless. Scipio, undated.	Dominico Irosolimitano, 1600.
Dom. Irosolimitano, undated.	Camillo Jagel, 1613.
Gio. Dom. Carretto, 1617.	Renato of Modena, 1626.
Vincentius Matelica, undated.	Gir. da Durallano, 1640.

§ 29. Cæsar Belliosus, according to the inscription in *H. B.*, VI, 68 (Cp. note 120), was Notary to Jacob Geraldino; yet in Neub., 255, his date is given as 1553, while that of Geraldini is 1555; it is possible that the 3 is a misreading for 5; such errors are very liable to be made (see Steinschneider, *H. B.*, V : 125). Indeed, it would be strange if expurgation had been practised before the passage of the law which authorized it, in 1554 (see p. 38). Is Neubauer's reading, in this same MS., of Cæsar Belliosus' title ("Comm. ap.") also an incomplete reading for the title as given by Steinschneider? (see p. 40, note 120). Furthermore, though MS. No. 222 was signed by him alone, and this may indicate that he acted independently as censor at some time, yet it should be noted that neither of the letters which treat of this early censorship mention him (see pp. 72 and 97).

§ 30. Of the other censors who later signed these works first corrected by Geraldino it will be noticed that those mentioned in Neub., 635 and 1372.1, have been assigned to Mantua, while those who signed Neub., No. 255, and the Columbia book have (with the exception of Laurentius Franguellus, 1575) been assigned to Modena. It is possible that these books and MSS. were carried about so often between 1555 and 1597 that these signatures have no significance; if they have any, it should be noted that in the inscription found in the Columbia copy of *Pērūsh ha-Tōrāh*, signed in 1556, a change of the conditions under which Geraldini was working in 1555 is indicated by the change in his title; the addition of "ducal commissioner" shows that his position was no longer confined to merely the papal states.

§ 31. The fact that in this same book (as in Neub., 255) occurs the signature of Laurentius Franguellus, 1575, may point to Ferrara as the scene of his new activity; in the Mantuan letter mentioned above it is stated that Franguellus was at one time in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CENSORS' INSCRIPTIONS

(PHOTOGRAPHED FROM BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY)

1. Revisto per mi Fra[te] Luigi da Bologna del Ordine de Sa[nto] Domenico, Otobar 1597
   (*Mishnèh Tōràh*, Venice, 1574, Vol. 2).

2. Camillo Jagel 1629
   (*Milhāmōth ha-Shém*, Ferrara, 1560).

3. Revisto p[er] me Antonio Fran[cesco] Enriques d'ord[in]e Ill^mo [. . . ?] monas. Arciu' d'Urbino 1687
   (*Idem*).

4. Ego Frater Renatus à Mutina ord[i]nis Capp[ucino]rum correxi 1626
   (Nachman, *Pērūsh ha-Tōràh*, Naples, 1490. See Appendix, §44).

5. Revisus p[er] me Laurentiu[m] Franguellu[m], 1575
   (*Idem*).

6. [S]ubsignavi ego Guidus Menotius Regien[sis] (?) Not[ariu]s d[e] man[da] to B^d
7. [Doctoris] Jac. Geraldini comiss[ari]i Ap[ostol]ici et Ducalis, die 18 Martij 1556
   (*Idem*. Cp. Appendix, §24).

8. 1590 (?) 13 [?] Revisto p[er] me Alonio
   Moionielo de ordine del Pablo
9. [?] Frate Peto (?) Maresso Inquisitore (?)
   (*Pērūsh Mishnath Ābhōth*, Soncino, 1484).

Ferrara (Stern, p. 165, No. 158); this state at that time was governed by the Duke of Reggio and Modena, which might help explain the later signatures of the censors of that state. Perhaps then it may be said that Geraldino was in non-papal territory already in December, 1555, for Neub., 255, was signed by him on December 16 of this year.

The remaining evidence, as well as a summary of that already given, will be found in the following table:

§ 32. ALEXANDER CAII, 1559.

Neubauer, 847; in this MS. is an inscription showing that eleven years afterward it was sold in Pisa; this is hardly worth considering as evidence that Alexander Caii was a censor in Pisa (see § 43), and no other traces of censorship there have been found. Perhaps it is this same name which should be read in place of "Alexandro de Cari, revedator" (undated), which Biscioni read in Plut., 1 Cod., 15 (*H. B.*, V: 76).

§ 33. ALEXANDRO CARI, undated; see Alexander Caii.

§ 34. ALEXANDER LONGUS, Inquisitor of Monreale, 1590.

See above, § 22, and Plate V, no. 7.

§ 35. ALESSANDRO SCIPIO, 1589–1590, Mantua.

"June 13, 1590. I, Alessandro Scipione, Convert, corrector and revisor of Hebrew books in the city of Mantua, through [appointment from] the Holy office, have received from M. Gresin da Part and M. Isep. Dina, and M. Abram Francioso, Hebrews, representatives of the Jewish community in Mantua, twenty scudi of gold, six liri per scudo, in payment for the correction of Hebrew books during the past year, which began June 1, 1589, and ended June 1, 1590. In witness thereof this receipt is signed with my own hand" (Stern, p. 156, No. 148; cp. *H. B.*, V: 73, remark 3).

§ 36. 1593. Mantua (?)

§ Cp. 6.

1594.

2 MSS. in the Bodleian, both signed by Domenico Irosolimitano, undated, also; probably in Mantua.

§ 37. 1595–1597. Mantua.

§§ Cp. 2, 5, and Plate III, no 8.

§ 38. 1598.

2 MSS.; one with Gio. Dom. Carretto, 1618, and Laurentius Franguellus, 1571; the other with Camillo Jagel, 1613, Dom. Irosolimitano, 1578, Renatus da Modena, 1626. One of these MSS. was, therefore, in Mantua, after having been signed by Scipio, the other in Modena-Reggio; the latter was originally written in Ferrara in 1477 (No. 376), but Irosolimitano in 1578 was apparently in Venice. Laurentius Franguellus in 1571 may have been in Ferrara, so that the first MS. (No. 134, written at Fano) may also have been there before being taken to Mantua. In other words, the Mantuan Committee was perhaps invited to censor all Hebrew books in the territory belonging to the Duke of Modena and Reggio, who also controlled Ferrara; and while Luigi of Bologna was in Venice, Scipio alone or with Irosolimitano may have been in Ferrara.

§ 39. ANDREA DE MONTE. 155..? Papal territory.
See p. 41.

1557. Rome.
Undated in Neub., 568. See p. 41.

§ 40. ANDREA TASSINI. 1753. Pesaro.
See p. 124.

§ 41. ANDREAS SCRIBAIUS. 1600. Pesaro (?)
". . . one edition of Venice [of a ritual treatise by Maimonides], with the signatures of Gerosolimitano, 1594, and Andreas Scribaius, 1600," etc. (*R. E. J.*, XXX : 279).

§ 42. ANGELO GABULOZZI. 1753. Lugo.
See p. 122.

§ 43. ANTONIO DE MEDICIS FIRENZE, 1628–9, (?) Ancona (?)
Neubauer has found this name in three MSS. dated once " DCXXVIII, Ancona," and twice DCXXIX ; these figures stand probably for the dates given above. In one of the latter MSS. (No. 847) the name Alexander Caii, 1559, is also found ; but since it was sold in Pisa, 1580, nothing can be inferred concerning this censor. (Cp. Francesco Antonio de Medicis.)

§ 44. ANTONIO FRANC. ENRIQUE, 1687. Urbino.
Neubauer records this name followed by " d'ordine dell ill. Vescovo d'Urbino, 1687," in MSS. 246 and 1142. In a copy of the *Sēpher Milḥ*^{a}*-mōth ha-Shēm*, Ferrara, 1560, and in one of another work the inscription seems to be " Revisto per me Antonio Fran. Enriques d'ord^{e} dell Ill^{mo} [?] monas^{o} [? or man^{do} ? or mandatario ?] Arciu' d'Urbino, 1687." In this last case the signature " Camillo Jagel " also, dated apparently 1629, is found (see plate IV, no. 2) ; the date should probably be read 1619 however, as at that time Jagel was in the Marches of Ancona, in which Urbino is situated. (See p. 104, Plate IV, no. 3, and § 54.

§ 45. ALONIO MOIONIELO. 1590 (? or 162.?).
In *Pērūsh 'Āḇhōth* (Columbia), with Fra Pe to Maresco (?), Inquisitor. See Plate IV, no. 7.

§ 46. BARTOLOMEO ROCCA DI PRÆTERINO, Turin (?)
See note 328.

§ 47. BONIFORTE DEL ASINARI, 1582 (?) Aste (?)
See § 21 and Plate V, no 4.

§ 48. BONCAMPAGNO MARCELLENO.
C. & C. : 10.

§ 49. CÆSAR BELLIOSUS. 1555 (and 1553 ?) Papal territory.
See § 29.

§ 50. CAMILLO JAGEL. 1611.
Neubauer records 7 MSS. with this date, but in none are there any other names ; No. 651 was at one time in Fano, perhaps, in the province of Urbino, where Jagel was later ; but there seems to be no evidence as to his location in this year ; it apparently was some place not frequently subjected to censorship.

§ 51. 1612.
A single mention in *R. E. J.*, XXX : 279.

§ 52. 1613.

Modena-Reggio (§ § 10 and 14).

§ 53. 1617.

Neub., 1961.1.; but this same MS. is mentioned also among those signed by him in 1619! A copy of the *'Aḳēdhath Yiṣḥāḳ* (in Columbia) was signed by Irosolimitano, 1598; Renato of Modena, 1686; by Durallano, and by Jagel, apparently in 1617; since a 3 so often resembles a 7 when in script, it is possible that this date should be read 1613.

§ 54. 1619–20—Ancona, Urbino.

Wolf (*Bibliotheca Hebraea*, I : 54) states that Jagel was censor in the Marches of Ancona during these years. Neubauer records 13 MSS. signed by him in 1619, and one in 1620; as might be expected from the infrequency of censorship in Ancona, but one of these contains another signature, No. 359, corrected by Luigi da Bologna in 1598; it has been already noted that this censor was in Ancona before 1602. No. 346.6 was written, 1544, in Urbino, which is in the Marches of Ancona; and No. 302 was written in Ancona, 1402 (and cp. Pietro de Funes). A book in Columbia, signed by Jagel perhaps in 1619, was later signed by an Urbino censor. (See § 44.)

§ 55. 1621 (?)

Neub., 1143, which, however, he places also in the list of MSS. signed by Jagel in 1611!

§ 56. 1629 (?)

See §§ 44 and 54.

§ 57. CARL BARROMEO. After 1593, Rome.

See p. 75.

§ 58. CLEMENTE CARRETTO.

See § 59.

§ 59. CLEMENTE RENATO.

Found undated, but since the signature is in a book printed 1609, this censor must have worked after that date. The suggestion has been made to identify this signature with another read as Clemente Carretto, undated (*H. B.*, V : 225, VI : 100). In this connection might be cited a censor's note found in a MS. copy of *Shibboleth shel Leḳeṭ* (in Columbia): "Vincento Renato in loco di Clemente [Renato?]."

§ 60. DIONYSIUS STURLATUS (?), 1589, Monreale.

§ 23 and Plate V, no. 8.

§ 61. DOMENICO CACCIATORE. "Found on the same MS. [Catal. of Krafft, v. D. S., 19, with Dom. "Irosol," 1595]—who is he?" (*H. B.*, V, 76 note.) Perhaps Gio. Domenico Carretto?

§ 62. DOMENICO IROSOLIMITANO, 1578.

Three MSS. in the Bodleian; one with no other signature; No. 376, written in Ferrara, 1477, signed by Scipio, 1598, Jagel, 1613, Renato of Modena, 1626; No. 572 was signed by Laurentius Franguellus, 1572, Scipio, 15 . . (?), and Carretto, 1618. If Franguellus was in Ferrara, 1572 (see below), what little evidence these names furnish may point to Irosolimitano's location there in 1578. In the Mantuan letter of 1595 it is stated that Irosolimitano had once ("olim") been in Venice; it seems most likely, however, that this reference would be to the date immediately preceding

that at which the letter was written, and Irosolimitano was active likewise from 1592 to 1594. He may, of course, have been at Venice on both occasions.

§ 63. 1592. Venice (?)

Three MSS. in the Bodleian, 2 with no other name, 1 with that of Luigi da Bologna, 1600. See last paragraph for Venice.

§ 64. 1594.

Neub., 643, with Domenico Irosolimitano, 1592! *R. E. J.*, 30 : 276 : "in a ritual treatise of Maimonides, Venice, 1550, with Andreas Scribaius, 1600." If Irosolimitano was in Venice, 1592, it is possible that his duties there extended over this year also.

§ 65. 1595–1597, Mantua.

See §§ 3 and 4.

§ 66. 1598, Ferrara (?)

In 5 MSS. and 4 books ; in unusual proportion, 7 of these have no other signature, while all but 8 out of 56 signed by him in 1597, and undated, were also censored by others. This seems to indicate that in 1598 Irosolimitano was in some place where censorship was not so often and so thoroughly practiced as in Mantua ; the suggestion has already been made in the case of Scipio that, the work in Mantua having been completed in 1597, the commission was invited to perform similar duties in the territory of the Duke of Modena and Reggio, and that Scipio and Irosolimitano were accordingly in Ferrara, 1598. One MS. signed by the latter was previously censored by Laurentius Franguellus, 1572 (No. 555), who may well have been then in Ferrara ; while a copy of the *ʿᵉḳēdhath Yiṣḥāḳ* in Columbia has the signatures of D. Irosolimitano, 1598, C. Jagel, 1617 (1613 ?), R. of Modena, 1626, Gir. da Durallano, 16.. (?) ; these were all Modena–Reggio censors, though it must be borne in mind that after the beginning of the XVII. century Ferrara was no longer joined in government with those places.

§ 67. 1599.

Neub. 557, apparently signed by himself at some other time (15 . .) also ; and No. 1409, signed in addition by himself in 1597 (!), Luigi da Bologna, 1502 (misprint for 1602 ?), C. Jagel, 1613, Gir. da Durallano, 1641. Cp. § 66.

§ 68. 1600.

Neub., 1600, alone ; 2019, 1 with Gio. Dom. Carretto, 1617, Gio. Dom. Vistorini, 1520 (1620 ?). Naḥman's *Pērūsh ha-Tōrāh*, Naples, 1490 (in Columbia) : J. Geraldino, 1556, L. Franguellus, 1575, D. Irosolimitano, 1600 ; C. Jagel, 1613 ; R. of Modena, 1626, Gir. da Durallano, 1640. Cp. § 66.

§ 69. 1601 (?).

Sepher ʾImrē Shāphar, Venice, 1591 (Columbia).

§ 70. 1602.

Neub., 647, with Gio. D. Carretto, 1618.

§ 71. 1605 (?)

A MS. in Columbia with the 5 very doubtful.

§ 72. 1612.

Steinschneider, *H. B.*, V : 125. Probably also one book in Columbia, without other signatures.

§ 73. 1617.

R. E. J., XXX : 279 : "Commentary of Levi b. Gerson upon the Pentateuch (Mantua, 1470), censored by D. Gerosolimitano, 1617, and D. Carretto, 1628."

1618.

Neub., 2257, alone.

§ 74. 1619.

Stein., *H. B.*, V : 125 ; additions made by him to the *Sēpher ha-Ziḳḳūḳ* in this year (see p. 101).

§ 75. DOMENICO MARTINES.

Mentioned as a censor, Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 10.

§ 76. FERDINANDO BONETTI, 1567, Milan.

P. 53 and note 181.

§ 77. FRANCESCO ANTONIO DE MEDICIS.

Mentioned as having signed a copy of *Kol Bō*, in the report of the Ancona confiscation of 1753 (Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 33 ; cp. p. 53 ; perhaps the same as Antonio de Medicis Firenze ?)

§ 78. GIOVANNI ANTONIO COSTANZI, 1753, Rome and Ancona.

Pp. 118, 119, 121, and p. 125, Stern, *H. B.*, V : 125 ("Gio. Antonio Costanza") ; undated in a Columbia copy of the *Shulḥān Shel 'Arbaʿ*, with L. Franguellus, 1575, D. Irosolimitano, undated, and Gio. Dom. Carretto, 1618.

§ 79. GIO. DOM. This abbreviation Neubauer has found undated in MS. 655, with L. Franguellus, 1575, and Nico. de Sorzone, 1602 ; he records it as the signature of Gio. Dom. Vistorini.

§ 80. GIOVANNI DOMINICO CARRETTO, 1607, Venice (?).

Neub., 2502 alone ; 2548 with Vittorio Eliano, undated, who was in Cremona around 1557, but in Venice, 1567. Also in two Columbia books printed in Venice but one and two years before, respectively : *Bi ūr ʿal Sēpher Miṣwōth Gādhōl*, Venice, 1605, and *Sēpher Bēdheḳ ha-Bayith*, Venice, 1606.

§ 81. 1616.

H. B., V : 125.

§ 82. 1617–19, Mantua.

§ 2 ff.

1620 (?)

Neub., 1072, signed 1520 ; misprint for 1620 ?

§ 83. 1625.

It should be noted that Carretto writes the figure 1 very much like a 2, so that, *e. g.*, 1618 at first glance might often be read as 1628 ; the correct reading as indicated by the frequency with which the date appears to be 2628. Neubauer reads the date 1625 in MS. 1924.

§ 84. 1628.
(See note under 1625.) Neub., 663, with D. Irosolimitano, undated, and Fra. Luigi, 1600. *R. E. J.*, 30 : 279, with Dom. Irosolimitano, 1617, *q. v.*

§ 85. GIOVANNI DOMENICO VISTORINI, 1609.
§ 18 f.

§ 86. 1610.
Stein. *H. B.*, V : 125 (once) ; *R. E. J.*, 30 : 279, with D. Irosolimitano, 1597.

§ 87. 1620 (?)
Under 1520 Neub. records 4 MSS. , No. 157 alone ; No. 364 with Hippolitus, 1601 ; No. 2019.2 with Hippolitus, 1621 ; No. 2019.1 with D. Irosolimitano, 1600, Gio. D. Carretto, 1617.

§ 88. GIO. MONNI, INQ. OF MODENA.
Neub., 711.

§ 89. GIR. DA DURALLANO, 1640–41, Modena-Reggio
§§ 10 and 13.

§ 90. GUIDO VENTURINI, 1753, Ferrara
P. 124.

§ 91. HEUESAS [?]. Parma.
In a copy of the *Sēpher Shaᵃ'rē Dimᵏᵉāh*, Ven., 1586 (in the New York Public Library), with Luigi da Bologna, 1600, and Hipp. of Ferrara, 1594. See Plate III, no. 2.

§ 92. HIER. CAROLUS, 1582, Asti
§§ 20 ff.

§ 93. HIPPOLITE OF FERRARA, 1593–4, Cremona (?)
Stein. : " 1593–4. Hipponus Ferrarensis Minorita perhaps in Cremona." See p. 76. A copy of the *Sēpher ha-shōrāshīm* (Columbia) : " Fr. Hipp.ˢ [or Hipp.] ord. min . . . purgavit hũ librũ, 1594"; it contains signatures of Luigi da Bologna, 1599, and Isaiah of Rome, also. For a third instance, see § 91.

§ 94. 1601.
§ 18 ff.

§ 95. 1621.
Neub., 3 MSS. ; cp. § 18.

§ 96. ISAIAH OF ROME. 1623, Mantua
§§ 1 and 8.

§ 97. 1640 (?)
In a copy of the *Sēpher ha-Shōrāshīm* this name occurs written very indistinctly ; the date seems to be 1640. Other names, cp. § 93.

§ 98. JACOB GERALDINO. 1555. Papal territory.
§ 24 ff.
1556, Ferrara (?).
§§ 30 and 31.

§ 99. JACOB GENTILINE. 1555.
§ 25.

§ 100. JACOBUS POLA. 1554.
§ 25.

§ 101. JOSEPH CIANTES.
Mentioned as a censor, Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 10.

§ 102. JOSEPH CIONTI, before 1641, Rome
P. 104.

§ 103. JOS. PARIUS (?) 1604. Carpi?
§ 19 and Plate III, no. 9.

§ 104. JOSHUA DEI CANTORI, 1559, Cremona.
P. 47.

§ 105. LAURENTIUS FRANGUELLUS. 1570 (?).
Neub. 297 with the doubtful reading of the date indicated by a (?).

§ 106. 1571.
H. B., V. 125; Neub. 134? (*sic*) with Aless. Scipio, 1598, and Gio. Dom. Carretto, 1618.

§ 107. 1572.
Neub. 555, with Dom. Iro., 1598; 572 with Aless. Scipio, 15 . . , Dom. Iro., 1578, and G. D. Carretto, 1618.

§ 108 1574 (?)
Perhaps in one volume (Columbia) with Domen Iros., undated.

§ 109. 1575. Ferrara (?)
In the Mantuan letter of 1595 (§ 31) it is stated that before that time L. Franguellus had once been in Ferrara as censor; there is but one MS. recorded as signed by him between 1575 and 1595, Neub. 192, corrected in 1579. Even if it is to this date that the letter refers, it is possible that Franguellus was in Ferrara during this whole decade.

As far as the concurrence of names is concerned, in addition to the two cases cited in § 28 ff (with Modena-Reggio censors), Franguellus signed in 1575, Columbia's copy of *Sh'ēloth uth'shūbhōth*, Venice, 1545, later revised by L. da Bologna, 1602, in Reggio.

Sēpher he-'Ārūkh, Venice, 1531, revised by Hipp. of Ferrara, 1601, and G. D. Vistorini, 1609.

Rashi to the *Tōrāh* and five *M'gillōth*, Venice, which, though it was revised by Pietro Ferdinando and G. D. Carretto, 1618, Mantuan censors, was in Pesaro, 1600 (§ 42).

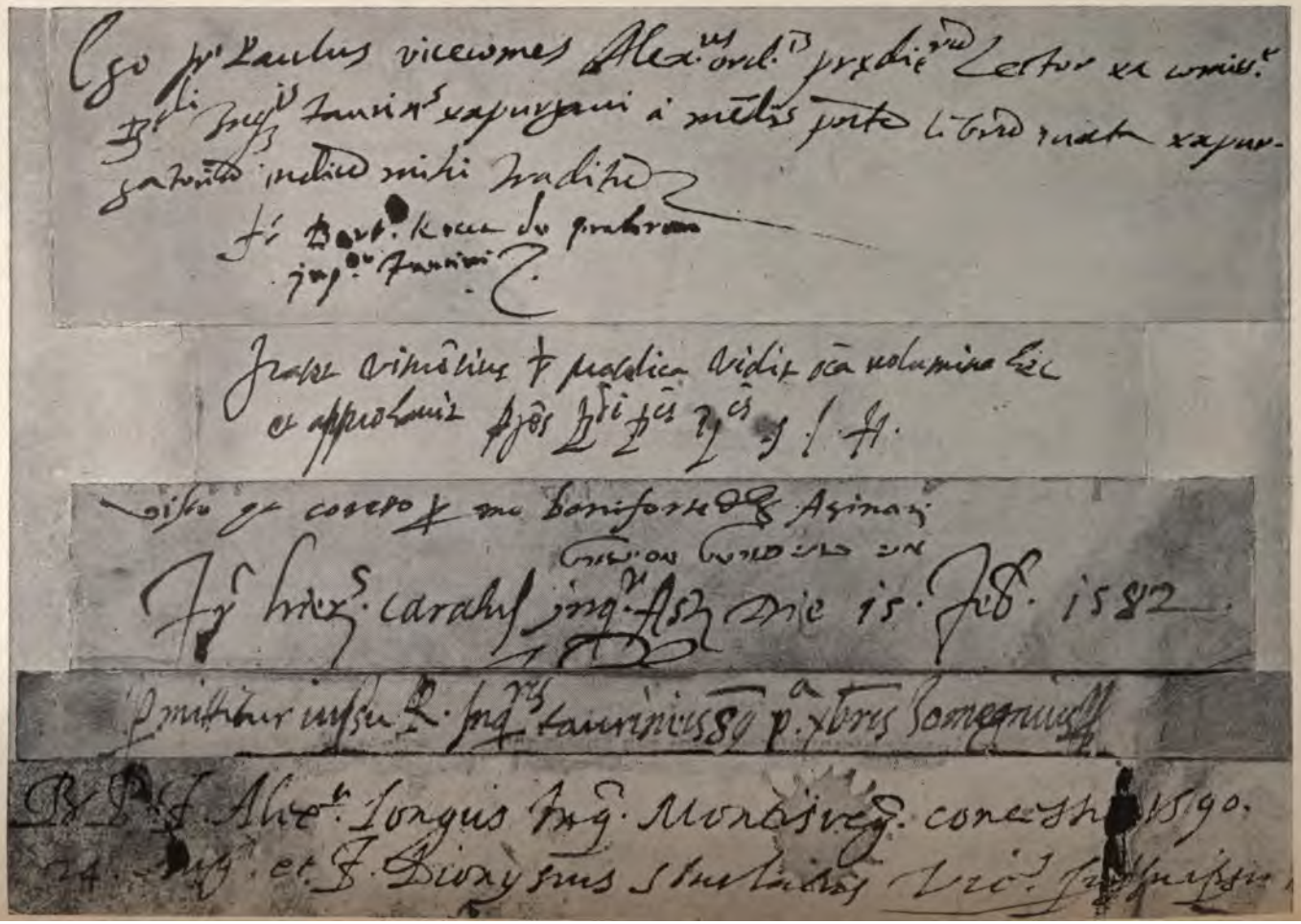
'Arba' Ṭūrim with L. da Bologna, 1599; C. Jagel, 1613; R. da Modena, 1626.

Apparently with Mantuan censors the name occurs:

Shulḥān Shel 'Arba', signed also by D. Irosolimitano, undated; G. D. 'Carretto, 1618; and G. A. Costanzi, undated [1753, Ancona].

S'mag, with D. Irosolimitano, undated.

Neub. 146.5 and 190 were signed by Franguellus alone in 1575, as was Columbia's copy of *S. Massōrath ha-Massōreth*; for No. 655 cp. § 78; Mortara has noted this name and date in several of his works; *H. B.*, V. 76.



CENSORS' INSCRIPTIONS

(PHOTOGRAPHED FROM BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY)

1. Ego Fr[ater] Paulus Vicecomes Alex[and]ris, Ordinis Predic[o]ru[m] Lector, ex comiss[ion]e Bdi. Inq[uisitor]is Taurin[i]s expurgavi à me[n]dis p[ræse]nte[m] libru[m] juxta expurgatoriu[m] indice[m] mihi traditu[m]

   (*Tiḳḳun Adhām*, Venice, 1553. See p. 89).

2. Fr[ater] Bart[olomeo] Rocca de Praterino (?)
   Jnq[uisit]or Taurini

   (*Idem*).

3. Frater Vince[n]tius d'Matelica (?) vidit oča (?) volumine[m] (?) [?]
   et approbavit p[er] jēs (?) [jussum?] Bdi. P[at]er [. . . ?] F. I. H.

   (*Sēpher Sha'ar ha-Shāmayim*, Venice, 1547).

4. Visto & (?) correto p[er] me Boniforte del Asinari
   'anī Bonifort 'Asinari

   (*Mar'ōth 'lōhim*, Venice, 1567. Cp. p. 79, note 296).

5. Fr[ater] Hier[onymu]s Caralus Jnq[isito]r Ast [. . . ?] 15 Feb. 1582

   (*Idem*).

6. P[er]mittitur jussu R[everendissimi] Inq[uisito]ris Taurini, 1589 P.ª ebris (?) Zomegnius

   (*Sēpher 'Iyyūr we-Hetter*, Ferrara, 1555. See Appendix, §141).

7. B. P. F. Alex[ande]r Longus Inq[uisito]r Montisreg[alis] corretto [?] 1590

8. 24 Aug. et F[rater] Dionysius Sturlatus (?) Vic[ariu]s jussu ipsius

   (*Mar'ōth 'lōhim*, Venice, 1567. See Appendix, §22).

§ 110. 1579.
Beginning of § 109.
1595. Mantua.
Mantuan letter, cp. 132; Steinsch. *H. B.*, V. 125; Neub. 1600 end, signed by L. Franguellus, undated; Aless. Scipio, 1597; D. Irosolimitano, 1597; and Neub. 541, signed by the same censors, all undated, may represent a share of the work done by Franguellus in Mantua.

§ 111. LEO. 1567.
Neub., 634, with A. Scipio, 1593, D. Irosolimitano, undated, G. D. Carretto, 1617, Vincentius Mattelica, undated, of Mantua (?).

§ 112. LUIGI DA BOLOGNA. 1591.
H. B., V., 125.

§ 113 1596–97. Mantua. ?
§§ 2 and 7.

§ 114. 1598–1602. Modena-Reggio.
§§ 10, 12, 14.

§ 115. Before 1602. Ancona.
§§ 17 and 54 (Jagel, 1619).

§ 116. 1602. Reggio.
§ 15.

§ 117. 1606 (?)
Columbia's MS. copy of Jacob Samino's *Pērūsh T'hillīm* seems to have been signed by L. da Bologna, 1606, and G. D. Carretto, 1619; still another signature, dated 1639, is illegible.

§ 118. MARCELLINO.
Mentioned as a censor, Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 10.

§ 119. M. ANTONIUS LUCIUS, before 1557. Milan.
P.

§ 120. MESNIL. 1763. France.
Note 471.

§ 121. MICHEL DE MONTAIGNE, after 1581.
V. & R., II: 173.

§ 122. NICO. DE SORZONE. 1602.
Neub., 655, with Gio. Dom., no date, and Laurentius Franguellus, 1575.

§ 123. PARCICCIANI. 1753. Urbino.
Cp. p. 124.

§ 124. PAUL. Turin.
Note 328, p. 89, and Plate V, no. 1.

§ 125. PETRUS DE TREVIO. 1623. Rome.
P. 102. In a copy of the *Roḳēaḥ* with Dom. Iros. and Gio. Antonio Costanzi, 1754. *H. B.*, V: 125.

§ 126. PETO. MARESSO.
With Alonio Moionielo, *q. v.*

§ 127. PHILLIP PERUZZOTTI. 1753. Lugo.
P. 23 and note 465.

§ 128. PIETRO DE FUNES.
In the report of the Ancona confiscation, 1753 (see p. 25), this name is mentioned as having been found in a copy of the *Zōhar*, together with the signatures of Jerushalmi and Jagel, 1619 (*Censur u. Confis.*, 33).

§ 129. PIETRO FERDINANDO. 1608. Mantua?
Neub., 2006.1. Signed alone, according to the catalogue in Mantua. For one signature in Columbia, cp. § 109 and Plate III.

§ 130. PIETRO MARTIRE.
With Antonio Fran. Enriquez (Dr. S. M. Schiller-Szinessy, *Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge*, p. 42).

§ 131. RENATO DA BOLOGNA. 1626.
Note 383, p. 103.

§ 132. RENATO DA MODENA. 1620–1621. Modena?
§ 11.

§ 133. 1626. Modena.
§§ 11 and 16.

§ 134. ROSSI. 1754. Sinnigallia.
P. 125.

§ 135. TOMASSO RUFINI. 1753. Ferrara.
P. 124.

§ 136. VINCENTIUS MATTELICA. 1622.
Neub., 1061 and 2344, alone; 634, undated, with Al. Scipio, 1593, D. Irosolimitano, undated, G. D. Carretto, 1617, Leo, 1567; 635, undated, with Al. Scipio, undated, G. D. Carretto, 1617, Jacobus Gentiline, 1555. Since No. 635 is merely a continuation of 634, there is hardly sufficient warrant for suggesting that this censor was located in Mantua where these MSS. had been corrected only five years before. Cp. Plate V, no. 3?

§ 137. VINCENTO RENATO.
One MS. in Columbia, cp. § 59.

§ 138. VINCENZA SUPPA.
Neub., 331, at end: "se ne permette la stampa Livorno, 31 Maggio 1831. Vincenza Suppa, R. Censore."

§ 139. VITTORIO CARO.
In the censor's report from Ancona, 1753 (cp. p. 125), mention was made that this name was found in one of the confiscated works (Berliner, *Censur u. Confis.*, 32).

§ 140. VITTORIO ELIANO, before 1557. Cremona.
P. 43.
1567. Venice.

§ 141. P. 54. Neub., 1064, alone, undated; 2548, undated, with Gio. Dom. Carretto, 1607; cp. § 79.

§ 142. ZOMEGNIUS(?) 1589. Turin.
At the top of the title-page of *Sēpher 'Issūr w'Hetter*, Ferrara, 1555, is an inscription which reads in part, "pmittitur jussu Inq^{ris} Taurini 1589, p^{a}ebris (?) Zomegnius"; *i. e.*, permitted by authority of the Inquisitor of Turin, 1589, etc.

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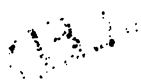

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